Mediating Academic Literacy Practices in a Second Language:
Portraits of Turkish Scholars of International Relations

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Abstract

This longitudinal inquiry into the academic literacy practices of ten Turkish scholars of International Relations (IR) attempts to answer three broad questions: what factors have affected the participants' acquisition and maintenance of academic reading and writing skills; what patterns of similarities and differences can be found among their literacy practices; and what relationships might be discovered between the various factors and the scholars' literacy practices. Data for the study were collected through observations, autobiographical accounts of the participants' literacy practices via interviews, and textual analysis of the participants' published works.

The theoretical framework for the study draws on neo-Vygotskian Activity Theory and Bakhtinian Dialogic Theory, to create a model for uncovering and understanding the contextual factors mediating scholars' academic literacy practices. The model begins with the assumption that scholars operate within multiple "activity systems" (Engstrom, 1990), in this case: 1) the core American IR discipline; 2) the local Turkish IR discipline/particular Turkish IR departments; and 3) Turkish society. The model reconceptualizes the idea of activity systems as "filters," which mediate individuals' production and reception of texts, i.e. their literacy practices. Conflicts may arise according to the "thickness" of a filter and depending on the "operational means" acceptable within it.

By contributing to a deeper understanding of how people acquire and maintain academic literacy skills in a second language the study ultimately aims to aid in the construction of pedagogical models and approaches that reflect the complex nature of these multi-lingual literacy practices.

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Résumé

À l'aide d'une étude longitudinale des pratiques académiques de dix universitaires turques en Relations Internationales (RI), nous tentons de répondre à trois grandes questions: quels facteurs affectent l'acquisition et le maintien des habiletés en lecture et écriture de chacun des participants; quels modèles au niveau des similarités ou des différences peut-on établir à partir de leurs pratiques; et quelles relations peut-on découvrir entre les différents facteurs et les pratiques littéraires des participants. Les données ont été receuillies à partir d'observations, de notes autobiographiques sur les pratiques littéraires des participants via des entretiens, et d'analyse textuelle de travaux des participants.

Le cadre théorique pour notre étude est basé sur les théories: "Neo-Vygotskian Activity" et "Bakhtinian Dialogic." Ceci a pour résultat un modèle nous permettant de mieux comprende les facteurs contextuels intervenant dans les pratiques littéraires des participants. Le modèle est basé sur l'hypothèse que les participants fonctionnent sur un système 'd'activités multiples' (Engstrom, 1990) dans ce cas: 1) la politique américaine en RI; 2) la politique turque en RI; 3) la société turque. Le modèle nous permet de mettre en lumière les 'idées des systèmes d'activités sous formes de "filtres" qui ainsi reflètent les pratiques littéraires.

À partir d'une meilleure compréhension de comment les participants acquierent et maintienent leurs habilites littéraires dans une langue seconde, notre étude a pour but ultime de construire un modèle pédagogique qui reflète la nature complexe des pratiques littéraires multilingues.

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Chapter 1

Background Contexts

Turkish International Relations Scholars

Duygu Sezer, Kemal Kirisci, Mustafa Aydin, Soli Ozel, Atila Eralp and Meltem Muftuler-Bac. These are actual names of Turkish scholars currently teaching, researching, and writing in the academic field of international relations. Depending on who you, the reader, are, you may very well never have heard of any of them. If however, you too are a scholar of international relations, or perhaps a Turkish citizen with an interest in politics, you may know one or more of these names. Some of these individuals, such as Atila Eralp or Kemal Kirisci, would be most easily recognized by North American political scientists specializing on the Middle East. Others, such as Meltem Muftuler-Bac, might be familiar to European political figures concerned with Turkey's accession to the European Union. Still others, such as Soli Ozel or Mustafa Aydin, would be known by normal Turkish citizens who enjoy watching talk shows on the popular news channels. All of these names belong to individuals who can be identified as "international relations scholars." As such, they belong, generally, to an international group of scholars who focus in their teaching and research on questions of politics between states. Why do states behave towards one another in the ways they do? Why and how do states decide to go to war or to cooperate with one another? These are some of the most basic questions asked by experts of international relations. Despite belonging to this scholarly community of academics, all of the women and men named above have made unique choices for themselves in terms of particular area(s) of expertise and ways of communicating ideas within those areas. At the broadest level, this study is an exploration into the factors contributing to those choices and an attempt at

understanding the various resulting professional identities of those individuals known simply as "Turkish international relations scholars."

This inquiry results from my nearly ten years of contact in some form or other with the academic discipline of international relations, and, in particular, with Turkish scholars within this field. I draw on the experiences I had while preparing and writing my Master's thesis on the socialization of graduate students into the discipline of international relations (Mathews, 1999c), as well as on the relationships I have established over the last three years of working in a Turkish academic environment, at Bilkent University, Ankara. I also inevitably draw on my close observations of one Turkish international relations scholar in particular, my husband. Although not an actual participant in this study, his experiences, ideas, and interpretations have clearly influenced my own thinking in preparing this thesis.

My decision to focus on Turkish scholars' experiences stems obviously from my personal connection with and interest in Turkey, Turks, and the Turkish language. My decision to focus on the discipline of international relations is based, however, on more than personal ties to Turkish issues through my husband. Because I am interested particularly in academic literacy practices in a second language, the field of international relations seems a particularly timely and relevant area to study. By its very nature, the discipline of international relations should logically bring together the accumulated scholarship of academics working across borders and, consequently, across languages. The apparent fact that such international communication and sharing of ideas does not occur as much as one might expect, leads one naturally to question why not. Ultimately, observations and questions like these brought me to the point of wondering what factors were involved in the literacy choices made by international relations scholars: why and when would Turkish scholars choose to write in English? Why or why not would they choose to write on

topics directly involving Turkish foreign relations? What possible venues do these scholars see available for themselves within the literature of international relations? How do they see the role of a Turkish scholar in the field of international relations?

My inquiry takes the form of a series of portraits of ten Turkish scholars of international relations. While I have met and spoken with many more Turkish international relations scholars than these over the past few years, the ten individuals I portray here represent a conscious effort on my part to allow as wide a range as possible of different voices, and thus choices, to be expressed. The participants vary therefore in age, gender, educational and social backgrounds, current employment situations, and professional interests and goals. In common, they shared a willingness to meet with me approximately once a year over the course of two to four years (between 1999 and 2003) for a series of interviews. They also helped me compile complementary documentary evidence about their professional practices, including information about their particular departments and courses they taught, as well as, of course, as complete a portfolio as possible of all works they had published.

One of the most complex issues I dealt with while writing up this research was in deciding how to present the participants' cases without openly revealing their identities. The total community of Turkish IR scholars is small in number but also--as the opening line of this thesis reveals--highly identifiable for the very reasons that are the focus of my inquiry. With their academic literacy practices, these scholars carve out niches, or identities, which make them recognizeable certainly to each other, and in some cases to the public at large. I felt the best compromise under the circumstances was to make every effort to maintain the anonymity of the participants, and at the same time to get their approval on what I was reporting about them. Therefore, unlike the actual names I used at the start of this chapter to make a point about

identities, I chose to give the participants of the study pseudonyms. I also withheld from naming

their home institutions, and refrained from referring directly to their published works. Finally, I

provided them with summaries of the main points that I was prepared to report about their literacy

practices, and received their approval on these by email or telephone.

I have varied goals in writing this thesis. As I express in the following sections, I intend to

contribute in this work to the rapidly growing body of literature that stresses the importance of

social contexts in understanding second language writing development (e.g. Casanave, 1995;

Leki, 1995; Maguire, 1997; Spack, 1997). In particular, this inquiry may add to those works

focusing on the unique characteristics of academic literacy practices within different disciplinary

fields (e.g. Braine, 1995; Candlin & Plum, 1999; Hyland, 2000; Prior, 1998), and to a further

understanding of how such practices can be intricately woven with issues of identity.

In developing my own understanding of 'identity' and how it is interwoven with literacy

practices, I found Ivanic's (1998) explanations particularly useful. Ivanic writes of 'identities' as a

practical, general term referring to the multiple "groups, communities, and/or sets of interests,

values, beliefs and practices" (11) with which individuals align themselves. Through such

alignments, individuals construct their various identities. She goes on to describe how individuals

carry out these processes of alignment by "producing and receiving culturally recognized,

ideologically shaped representations of reality" (17). Like Ivanic, I choose to understand these

"representations of reality" as referring to texts involving verbal language only. Unlike Ivanic, as I

explore in greater detail in the following sections, I concentrate more on the practices of

producing and receiving these texts, rather than on the actual texts as constructs of identity.

I hope that this work will be read by practicing international relations scholars, including

Turkish scholars and those of other non-native English speaking nationalities, as well as those

from native English speaking countries. The field of international relations is by no means unique in forcing its participants to make decisions about how they will identify themselves and be identified within the discipline. The field's history, focus of study, and nature of scholarship seem, however, to have created certain unusual complexities for non-native English speaking scholars who are trying to decide how best to contribute to the discipline. Nevertheless, disciplinary organizations have failed to produce any large scale efforts to expose, inform, or discuss this issue and its implications for the international relations discipline. This inquiry aims to provide a first step towards a dialogue about the problems facing current and future contributers to international relations scholarship.

In line with these general goals, I aim in presenting these cases of Turkish IR scholars' literacy practices to respond to three basic questions:

- What factors have influenced their acquisition and maintenance of academic reading and writing skills?

- What patterns of similarities and differences can be found among their literacy practices?

- What relationships might be discovered between the various factors and the scholars' literacy practices?

Locating the study theoretically

A social perspective on writing

Studies of writing, both in first and second languages, can largely be grouped into three main types. The first type, which has been labeled as "formalist" or "text analytic" (Cumming, 1998), tends to view writing as texts or products that can be analyzed in and of themselves. This

perspective leads to studies considering writing as constituted by and analyzed according to grammar, vocabulary, and rhetorical structure. The second type is a "constructivist" or "composing process" (Cumming, 1998) approach, which looks at writing from the perspectives of writers. This approach may involve looking at cognitive processes involved in writing, strategies employed--in general, whatever the writers themselves bring to the process of producing texts. The third type of writing research, and the perspective assumed in this inquiry, has been called "social construction" (Cumming, 1998). Researchers following this approach draw broadly on concepts from various disciplines, such as sociology (e.g., Bourdieu, 1977; Goodwin and Goodwin, 1992), situated learning in education (Lave and Wenger, 1991), new-developmental school of psychology (e.g. Cole, 1996; Engstrom and Middleton, 1996; Hutchins, 1995; Rogoff et al., 1995; Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch, 1991), and sociolinguistics and anthropology (e.g. Duranti, 1997; Hanks, 1996). I draw on this interdisciplinary approach because I consider writing as a social activity. In other words, I consider it important to look at the situations in which writing takes place, and to consider texts as ways that writers interact with those situations.

A large amount of research has been conducted employing such a "social" approach to writing. Researchers embracing this approach generally take the position that writing helps to constitute a world or community for a particular group. Writing can be seen, in other words, as a means of creating and recreating particular groups by providing a means for reflecting the problems, social practices, and ways of thinking within those groups (Hyland, 1997; MacDonald, 1994). Many such works (e.g. Bazerman, 1988; Berkenkotter & Huckin, 1995; Freedman & Medway, 1994; Myers, 1990; Thralls & Byler, 1993) have attempted to link texts to social practices by presenting patterns among texts as reflections of writers interacting with particular social systems and making choices accordingly. Critically based studies have sought to include an

understanding of power distribution when looking at the choices that writers perceive that they are or are not free to consider making in their interaction with particular social systems (e.g. Caldas-Coulthard & Coulthard, 1996; Fairclough, 1995; Kress, 1988; Maguire & Graves, 2001; vanLeeuwen, 1995).

Literacy and Multi-Literacies

Given the complex factors that may come under consideration within a socially based study of writing, a more appropriate and all-encompassing term for such studies to use is that of 'literacy,' or more recently, 'multiple literacies.' Even when looked at purely from the perspective of skills, it is important to recognize that 'writing' can not be separated from the skill of reading, or even from those of speaking and listening (Carson et al, 1992; Harris, 1990). Use of the term 'literacy' may help to overcome this possible problem of definition at the level of skill. Moreover, developments in "New Literacy Studies" also incorporate further essential elements of social-cultural approaches to 'writing', such as recognizing the social, historical, cultural, and cognitive factors influencing individuals as they process or produce texts (Barton, 1994; Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Street, 1984). In other words, the new literacy studies not only look at reading and writing as mutually supporting activities, they focus on the social contexts influencing the construction and use of texts as a "dialectical merging of individual and social aspects of language" (Rodby, 1992: 55).

This emphasis on social contexts reflects the shift from what Street labeled as "autonomous" models of literacy, to "ideological" models (1984). Street criticized what he called "autonomous" models for seeing literacy in only technical terms and ignoring its social contexts. He proposed instead an "ideological" model that would recognize literacy as inherently linked to

both cultural and power structures in society, and encourage research that studies the "social practices" of literacy rather than "literacy in itself" (1993: 7). New Literacy theorists (e.g. Baynham, 1995; Ivanic, 1998; Lea, 1998; Lea & Street, 1998) have followed his proposal, and place their emphasis on the social contexts and processes of which written language is a part, rather than on the written texts themselves.

Ivanic stresses the difference in two main ways of understanding what literacy is, the first being a focus on the ability to use written language. She points out that this understanding draws on the fact that there exists a negative term, "illiteracy," to emphasize that literacy is concerned with how people are using written texts rather than with the texts themselves. The second understanding of literacy moves away from the element of 'ability' to focus on "'way(s) of using written language'" in particular contexts (Ivanic, 1998: 58), and thus reflects the same principles and goals of New Literacy theorists.

In my study of second language literacy, I am primarily concerned with the ways in which the participants are using written language, in other words, their literacy practices. Heath (1983) defined 'literacy events' as events "when talk revolves around a piece of writing" (p. 386). Drawing on the concept of speech events (Hymes, 1962), Heath's definition essentially refers to events in daily life in which reading and/or writing are used in some way. Literacy practices are a broader concept than literacy events (Street, 1993). Understanding an individual's literacy practices means looking at a literacy event in terms of how we understand what we are doing, the value we place on it, and the ideologies surrounding the event. Literacy practices refer to "both behaviour and conceptualisations related to the use of reading and/or writing" (Street, 1993: 12). They can be seen, therefore as a linking of individuals and their social worlds. Thus, studies of literacy practices have been described as exploring the ways in which reading and writing are

used to achieve social purposes in specific contexts of use (Baynham, 1995). An example, therefore, might be the literacy practice of academics, who write scholarly articles or books in order to gain tenure in their institutions.

I find the following simple definition of literacy practices to be the most appropriate for my study: "[literacy practices] are culturally shaped ways in which literacy serves social ends" (Ivanic, 1998: 65). I like this definition for several reasons. First, by noting that literacy practices are 'culturally shaped' it recognizes the influence and power of social dimensions in affecting literacy practices. At the same time, it notes that literacy practices take place in order to 'serve social ends,' and therefore gives credit (agency) to individuals making choices in their literacy practices to meet their particular social goals. I find it very useful that Ivanic defines literacy practices on the basis of their purposes, rather than trying to define their concrete features or characteristics. By focusing on purposes, her definition reminds us again that literacy practices are bound to vary from individual to individual, and from event to event. These reminders of individuality and situatedness reinforce the importance of considering the individual agent's accounts in addition to contextual factors that may be influencing literacy. The definition therefore responds to Thesen's criticism that some discourse theorists working on literacy tend to overlook the individual. In doing so, she notes, they categorize learners in a deterministic manner, and assume that all learners are striving for "mainstream culture" (Thesen, 1997: 488). Ivanic's definition recognizes that people may have different goals. For Turkish IR scholars, a multiplicity of goals means that one scholar may be engaging in literacy related activities in order to satisfy departmental requirements for promotion. A second scholar may be carrying out similar activities for the purpose of affecting Turkish foreign policy decision-making, while a third may be trying to supplement his income.

Studies of advanced academic literacy

Studies on literacy at the advanced academic level in particular, reveal a shift from a more traditional emphasis on texts as autonomous, decontextualized "things", to an increasing understanding of academic literacy as 'something' constructed between individuals and their social contexts. Thus, "traditional" research on academic writing has often involved some kind of survey to determine the tasks that undergraduate or graduate students need to be able to accomplish to be considered as academically 'literate' (e.g. Braine, 1989; Bridgeman & Canseco & Byrd, 1989; Horowitz, 1986; Johns, 1981; Kroll, 1979). These studies are useful from a formalist or text-analytic perspective, in that they provide initial descriptions of the different types of academic writing assignments or genres that might be expected from university students. These descriptions are limited, for example, by the researchers' own preconceived classification schemes. More importantly, these studies are limited by their focus on only the texts themselves or the teachers' perceptions, thereby failing to consider or document the socio-cultural contexts in which the assignments are assigned and completed.

Some researchers have used the case study as a way of recognizing the important role of social contexts in studies of academic literacy. A first group of case studies has looked at university students. In this group there are examples of longitudinal studies exploring the writing practices of native English speaking (NS) undergraduate students (Spack 1997) and various works, many of which have come out of England, on the literacy practices of native English speaking (NS) students (e.g. Lea 1994, 1998; Ivanic, 1998). Berkenkotter and Huckin wrote a well-known article on the initiation of a NS graduate student into a research community (1991).

Prior (1998) offers a series of ethnographies of graduate students' negotiated relationships with their advisors and how these are affected by the students' experiences outside of the academy.

There are also case studies of non-native English speaking (NNS) graduate students' writing. Belcher (1994) looks specifically at two female NNS graduate students' relationships with their advisors/mentors as a route to advanced academic literacy. There are also accounts such as Connor and Mayberry's (1996) piece on one Finnish graduate student's experience learning discipline specific academic writing in the United States. Other studies have considered the writing of other diverse groups of graduate students, such as that of Iranian graduate students in education (Riazi, 1997), Lankan Tamil learners (Canagarajah, 1997), a Taiwanese graduate student (Schneider and Fujishima, 1995), Japanese doctoral students (Gosden 1996), and Chinese graduate students of science (Dong, 1996). These studies generally highlighted the various types of linguistic and strategic problems faced by students in their academic literacy practices and in their relations with their advisors. Moreover, some of these studies also revealed the creative ways in which students coped with the demands of academic work in a second language. Belcher (1997) for example, showed how two female graduate students used subtely "deviant" conventions of writing in order to gently challenge their advisors' biases. For example, she discusses how the students used argumentative forms of a more 'feminine' and empathetic nature than the traditional, antagonistic 'male' forms.

Professional Scholars

The vast majority of studies of professional scholars' writing or literacy practices have been carried out in native speaker contexts. These studies look at the role of writing in general as a professional activity (Anson & Forsberg, 1990), or more commonly, look at writing in

particular academic disciplines. Among those studies considering the hard sciences, Myers (1989, 1990) looked at biology, Bazerman (1981, 1988) looked at physics, Herrington (1985) engineering, and Burton (2000) mathematics. Other studies have considered writing in the social sciences. For exaple, Brodkey (1987) considered writing in English, Bruner (1996) looked at education, Dudley-Evans and Henderson (1993) looked at economics, Geisler (1994) philosophy, and Medway (2002) architecture. With the exception of Bazerman's small but interesting discussion on the "unsettled rhetoric" of a leading political science journal (1988), no one has examined writing in the discipline of political science and its sub-discipline of international relations.

There are an increasing number of autobiographical accounts of individual scholars' experiences adapting to professional academic life/writing in a second language. These include the pieces by Connor and Li in the edited volume by Braine (1999), various chapters in Belcher and Connor's new edited volume (2001), and scholars' self reports in the chapter by Zamel in Zamel and Spack (1998). Canagarajah (2002) is also very relevant to this discussion, as in his article he draws on the above listed works and on a forthcoming piece of his own, to put forth his position on the view multilingual writers should take towards the academic community. He argues that multilingual writers should be encouraged to take a more critical position on the relationship between their vernacular community and the academic community. I find appealing Canagarajah's call for a 'multivocal' approach to academic discourse, in which writers are encouraged to join their native discourses with traditionally valued academic conventions.

Aside from these studies, Casanave's piece on the "balancing act of bilingual academics" (1998) has the most obvious relevance for the current study. Her work is in fact even more closely related to my inquiry than the previous ones mentioned, since it looked at NNS scholars' literacy

experiences in their native country contexts. Casanave's case study of four Japanese academics explores the decision-making processes of the participants in terms of their professional activities, and attempts to understand the types of difficulties they faced in this process. She focuses in particular on two young scholars who had recently returned from lengthy graduate study programs abroad, and were undergoing complex and at times problematic transitions to academic life in Japan. While certain common points were found among the scholars' experiences, Casanave neglects any discussion of the potential differences stemming from the participants' varied disciplinary backgrounds. Since numerous books and articles have convincingly discussed the tremendous variation between disciplines in terms of writing, she seems to underestimate the potential significance of disciplinary differences. Her article offers therefore interesting but very general and largely uncontextualized insights into the conflicts of Japanese academics operating in two languages.

The increasing number of case studies of the last several years-particularly in terms of second language literacy-are certainly a positive response to calls from the early 1990s for more such case studies of literacy development (Casanave & Hubbard, 1992; Currie 1993; Prior 1991). More case studies of individuals' literacy development are needed however to continue filling in the large gaps that remain. It is clear from looking at Casanave's 1998 study that local factors play a tremendous role in the literacy experiences of NNS scholars working outside of an English-language environment. Thus, further studies on NNS scholars in different contexts-both national and disciplinary-would be useful for a fuller understanding of the issues affecting these scholars' academic writing and reading processes.

Literacy and "the community"

A social-cultural perspective on writing and reading assumes that acts of literacy are carried out in negotiation between individuals and the various contexts or communities in which they are active. The use of the plural form "communities" is meant to express the idea that no one can be defined as belonging to only one community, but rather is in constant contact or participates within various different communities. It also reflects the understanding that there are communities within communities. This general idea of multiplicity and the further implications of an inevitable interplay between various communities is equally expressed in terminology such as "nested contexts" (Maguire, 1994, 1999).

Participation in multiple communities may naturally lead to a potential for conflicts, as different communities may have different values, expectations of their members, and accepted ways of expressing membership. This is in fact a very basic concept underlying such ethnographic studies as Heath (1983), who explored the disjunctions arising between home and school literacy practices in families of different social and community backgrounds. For example, Heath observed how non-mainstream, non-middle class children may not be socialized at home to be familiar with responding to books and stories in the same way that the school environment expects from them:

> For Trackton children entering school, the problems presented by the school's conventions and expectations for storytelling are somewhat different [from their community's ways]. Questions which ask for a strict recounting of facts based on a lesson and formulated in the teacher's mind before she asks the question are unfamiliar. The request for a story which simply recounts facts accurately has no parallel in their community (Heath, 1983: 29).

Such disconnects between home-community and school-community expectations are shown to lead to student behaviors that are judged as inappropriate by the school-community members. Along with this general idea of potential inter-communal conflicts, discussions arise about what educators should do about such conflicts. In other words, in the case of students from backgrounds that are distant from that of the mainstream academic community, should educators seek to ease their potential conflicts by attempting to provide a clear blueprint for how to participate in the mainstream community? Should we thus teach overtly and explicitly the ways of the dominant community? As some (e.g. hooks 1989; Delpit 1998) argue, teaching students the dominant discourse gives them the option to choose the discourse they would prefer to use. Knowing the surface features of academia empowers students by allowing them to gain entry to a world into which they were once denied access. Or would we serve not only the students but all of academia better by attempting to promote ways of incorporating less dominant community practices in a more democratic approach? (Benesch, 1993; Bizzell, 1982).

My inquiry is in part my own attempt to define my position on these issues. I felt presumptuous taking a position based only on my readings, without turning directly to the experiences and voices of NNS scholars who had received their academic training in English and who were continuing to carry out their academic literacy practices in their second language. Although I will discuss these questions further in chapter 7, I now generally feel a closer affiliation with the idea that teachers should provide some instruction of 'powerful' texts and ways of engaging with them. I highly question whether it is possible to teach students directly the 'best' or 'most appropriate' ways of participating in mainstream communities. However, I do believe in making academic discourse and activities transparent, in order that students can make the best informed choices in their literacy practices. It is through their direct participation in the academic

community (even if it means relying on dominant community practices), that they can be in a position to contribute to changes they feel are appropriate. My position is similar to that of many genre theorists from Australia (e.g. Martin, 1985; Christie, 1991; Cope and Kalantzis, 1993), who view dominant genres as a tool for empowerment:

> It is the view of genre-based researchers and teacher trainers that subjectivity changes by evolution, not revolution, and that teaching powerful discourses expands a student's meaning potential; language learning is simply not a question of new discourses coming in to replace the old. Beyond this, powerful discourses are not regarded as so ineffable that they cannot be taught, and in Australia there is plenty of evidence that mainstream discourses can be commandeered and used by women, by Aboriginal people, or by Irish Catholics to change the world (Martin, 1993: 165).

I appreciate Martin's call for change by "evolution" not "revolution," since this describes well my belief that generally the most effective way to affect change in any social context is from within the system. Evolution implies a qualitatively different form of change from revolution, one which is naturally accepted and adopted since it has grown up as a part of the system itself. Evolutionary changes may not even be recognized as changes, but seen instead as the 'norm.' Revolutionary changes imply to me those which are made quickly, radically, and often imposed by a powerful minority (though possibly a well-intentioned and socially conscious one). Such revolutionary changes may or may not gain acceptance or even be truly understood. In situations of dramatic injustice, inequality or deprivation, revolutionary efforts may be necessary to initiate a change process. But in the case of academic literacy, particularly at the level of post-secondary education, changes seem to me more likely to take root if they are carried out using the tools of the mainstream community.

This introduction to questions on literacies and diverse communities oversimplifies many issues surrounding concepts of community. Not only must the idea of multiple memberships in multiple communities be noted, but more problematically, it is important to first consider the

basic issue of understanding what a community is and how any particular community can be characterized from different perspectives. The complexity inherent in understanding these questions is made evident by Anderson (1983), who described and understood communities as more imagined than physically constituted. Thus, we can not delineate precise borders to any community, and the connection between a community's members may be as ephemerally defined as consisting of the "information that flows between them" (Canagarajah, 2002, p. 31).

When considering the characteristics of a particular community, it is generally noted that communities are heterogeneous (Wenger, 1998). This understanding is in synchrony with the idea of communities as imagined, since the latter implies that the characterizations of any particular community can be as varied as the number of interpretations that there are of that community. If a community is comprised of the perceived conceptions of members (and non-members as well, for that matter), then the variety within those perceptions can be said to constitute the ever shifting 'borders' of the community's character.

Returning then to the question of the complexities of defining community and issues of multiple community memberships and their pedagogical implications, I think it is important to look more closely at the field of Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL), in particular within post-secondary education. Within TESL it is possible to identify general trends in the areas of English for Academic Purposes and Contrastive Rhetoric that generally promote teaching widely accepted standards of discourse within the dominant academic community. Any discussion questioning these practices-mirroring that of the 1980s in first language English studies-seemed much slower to unfold in TESL. The delay is hardly surprising since, first, studies in TESL generally follow, and thus lag behind, theorizing and research in first language contexts. Second however, there is the added complexity of carrying out such a discussion not simply

within conflicts between different socio-cultural or socio-economic community backgrounds, but between linguistic and ethnic backgrounds as well. It may be relatively easy to advocate a democratic approach to academic writing that would encourage native speakers of a language to learn to 'cross borders' between their various communities' expectations or even to question the dominance of the dominant community's practices. However, it may be less easy to encourage such acts among non-native English speaking students. In the latter case, the non-native English speaking student may have "lacks" or "wants" (Hutchinson and Waters, 1987) that seem to justify a more formulaic and less democratic approach to teaching. These "lacks" could include insufficient knowledge of English vocabulary and structure to complete assignments, or as "wants", an externally imposed time limit on graduate study. These or other factors could help pressure a student into wanting to learn the most direct route to meeting the dominant community's expectations.

Whatever the reasons for the delay, Zamel's (1997) Transculturation Model was an attempt within TESL to promote students' moving between discourse communities in their academic writing. Starting from the understanding that academic discourses are by their nature heterogeneous, Zamel writes that students can actually mix and merge different discourses to create "multivocal texts". Although clearly a positive step in furthering discussion of pedagogical implications of a social perspective on second language writing, Zamel's model has nevertheless been criticized for its tendency to oversimplify the crossing of borders. As Canagarajah (2002) very rightly points out, the starting assumption of communities and community expectations in writing as heterogeneous does not necessarily mean they are egalitarian. He notes that Zamel's support of 'border crossing' fails to address the existence of power imbalances between communities. As attractive as such calls for merging boundaries or crossing between

communities are, they may be naively idealistic. Canagarajah notes that individuals attempting to

participate in such discursive play must still struggle against externally imposed negative

identities and statuses. Such struggle does not guarantee acceptance by the academic community.

Moreover, the reality of such crossings is that they nearly always occur unidirectionally, from the

non-dominant discourse, to the dominant discourse. There is no neutral 'free zone', as Zamel's

model may imply. In recognition of such issues of power imbalances, Canagarajah suggests that

such border crossings would be more appropriately labeled as 'counter' discursive, rather than the

ideologically neutral 'trans' discursive.

Power and academic literacy

In my study of the choices being made by NNS scholars in their academic literacy

practices, I first assumed the study participants to be members of multiple communities. I also

assumed that the participants' literacy choices were being affected to a large extent by the

interplay and potential conflict between the participants' expectations and understandings of these

various communities and their positionings within them. Moreover, I felt it was important to

consider the extent to which the scholars' choices were perhaps limited by forces outside

themselves.

There is a growing body of literature looking at questions of power and access for non-

native English speakers in western-dominated academia. Pierce (1995) has stressed the

importance of looking at power relationships. In her study of adult immigrants in Canada, she

notes that power relations between native and non-native speakers of a target language are

inextricably related to second language learning processes. To understand second language

learning processes, researchers must consider not just individual learners, but rather the larger

social contexts, because societies give us strong messages about whom we can be and to what we can aspire. Societies can even forbid or constrain our participation in certain social networks. When learners set out to learn a second language, they are making a social "investment" in that language, and they expect a return on that investment:

> When learners invest in an L2, they do so anticipating that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn enhance their conception of themselves and their desires for the future (Norton & Toohey, 2001: 312).

Pierce adds that although the relations which produce and validate the "symbolic and material resources" of power are constantly negotiated, it is generally those individuals, institutions, or communities with power who control access to the goods that the others seek. If we consider this perspective when looking at scholars and academic communities, the resources of power can be seen as ranging from professional positions actually held in university departments, disciplinary associations, and journal editorial boards, to less tangible resources such as being able to make one's voice heard in certain types of academic discussions or publish works in particular journals.

In a similar light, and quite closely related to this study of NNS' academic literacy practices, a number of authors (e.g. Canagarajah 1996, 1999; Flowerdew 1999, 2001; Pennycook 1994, 1998; Van Dijk 2001) have taken distinctly critical perspectives on various aspects of what they consider as western domination over academic scholarship. They have reported on, among other things, the attitudes of journal editors to specifically NNS contributions, barriers to NNS' publishing access stemming from material or logistic problems, and NNS' self perceptions of being at a disadvantage to native English speakers in terms of publishing.

Perhaps most importantly, all of these scholars have agreed that whatever power imbalances-and subsequent imbalances in access-may exist for the NNS scholars, the ultimate result is a

negative one for academia and knowledge construction in general. They point to the need for

"periphery perspectives" (Canagarajah, 1996) to question and provide alternatives to mainstream

theories and approaches, or to serve as "testing mechanisms" (Flowerdew, 2001) for these

theories. Without such alternative perspectives, they caution that academic scholarship risks

falling into a form of "scholarly chauvinism which at the very least diminishes the relevance and

generality of [our] findings and in any case contributes to the reproduction of prevailing forms of

cultural and academic hegemony" (Van Dijk, 2001, 96).

Literacy researchers may help to respond to some of these concerns by adopting an

ideological approach to literacy. A traditional autonomous model of literacy that focuses on texts

and ignores contexts is unlikely to raise questions about, for example, the need for alternative

perspectives in academia. An ideological approach, however, looks at individuals' uses of written

language in consideration of the various communities in which they take place, and in

consideration of the social relationships, norms, and practices of these communities. Such an

approach is well positioned therefore, to reveal conflicts or imbalances that may exist among

those social relationships.

Role of the Researcher and Background

In line with a constructivist framework, I follow a subjectivist epistemology in this

inquiry, that is, I believe that both the knower and the known interact and shape one another.

Since I, the researcher or knower, am a part of the understanding that is created in this research, I

believe it is necessary for me to make clear to the reader who I am. This attempt to present myself

and to decide which parts of me are relevant in understanding my relationship towards my

participants, is itself a step toward critically "unravel[ing]...the blurred boundaries" (Fine, 1994,

p.75) between me and them. Working at these boundaries is important both for me in terms of my analysis and for the reader in terms of evaluating my analysis.

Two personal experiences have been critical in convincing me of the importance of such an exercise. The first experience involves my personal involvement with the International Relations discipline. Through the many readings I did on my own and for a graduate seminar in which I was enrolled, I became familiar with the works of many leading International Relations experts. As is common in much of academic writing, the articles, book chapters, and even books that I read included minimal biographical information, in most cases, only institutional affiliation and research interests. For example, "Daniel Y. Kono is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of California—Davis. His research currently focuses on the political economy of international trade" (taken from *International Studies Quarterly*, volume 46, December 2002). The texts of the works themselves included no additional information, and were usually written in such a way as to encourage the belief that the author was a kind of blank slate, an all-objective and non-ideologic deliverer of a "scientific truth". In the cases of the most highly esteemed writers, regardless of how they might spar and disagree among themselves, the image remained of them as superior and pure figures, unadulterated by daily exegencies of class, gender, or race. The image grew even stronger after I attended several International Relations conferences and realized that these figures did not lower themselves to wear the bold name tags that so clearly identified the rest of us.

Through the seminar I took and through my own research, I eventually became personally acquainted with many of these honored academics. I was able to meet with the prominent IR professor from Stanford University, Stephen Krasner, and the young, constructivist star of the discipline, Alexander Wendt, when they came to speak to the IR seminar course I was enrolled in

at McGill. I became much better acquainted with several internationally renowned IR scholars (Barry Buzan, Ken Booth, Ole Waever, Georg Sorensen, James Rosenau, Mohammed Ayoob, Baghdat Korany) when I helped my husband organize a conference in Ankara in June 2002. Through these events as well as just by being a part of conversations with other IR scholars, I came to know more about these well-known scholars' personalities, their political beliefs, their social standing, and their national backgrounds. While I remain an admirer of their writing, I can not deny that knowing them has affected my understandings and analyses of their works. I believe, however, that the effect has been a positive one, in that it has broadened my ability to interpret their theorizing. Similarly, the second experience revolves around the very positive impressions I have had of works that *do* incorporate personal information into the text. In addition to those works that have eloquently dealt directly with this issue (e.g. Fine, 1994; Villenas, 1996), I refer specifically to Ivanic's book on writing and identity (1998), in which I greatly appreciated the author's brief yet revealing introduction to herself:

> Who am I as I write this book? I am not a neutral, objective scribe conveying the objective results of my research impersonally in my writing. I am bringing to it a variety of commitments based on my interests, values and beliefs which are built up from my own history as a white English woman aged 51 from a middle class family...(1).

I ask therefore, who am I? At this writing, I am a 39 year old, white woman with a husband and a six year old son. I was raised in the state of Vermont, the only child of a middle-class family with leftist leanings. As an undergraduate student in the early 1980s I majored in Russian and Slavic studies, and followed graduation with a five-year period of odd jobs and travels in Europe, Africa, and North America. After obtaining a diploma in Teaching English as a Second Language, I found work in Turkey, and moved there in 1992. While there I met my husband, who was studying for his M.A. in European Communities Law, and working as the

Assistant Director of Tourism Police for the municipality of Istanbul. We moved to Washington

DC in January 1994, when he was selected to receive a full scholarship for graduate study abroad

in the field of International Relations. After first observing and closely sharing his experiences in

the North American academic community, I also returned to graduate study in 1997, in the then

department of Second Language Education at McGill University in Montreal. Two years later I

completed my M.A. thesis (1999c) on the socialization of non-native English speaking graduate

students into the discipline of International Relations, and began my Ph.D. In 2000, my husband

and I with our son moved back to Turkey to complete the field research for our doctoral

dissertations. In the fall of 2001, we both began teaching at Bilkent University in Ankara, he in

the department of International Relations, me in the graduate Teaching English as a Foreign

Language teacher training program. We continue to teach in these departments at the time of this

writing.

Approaching the study

According to Shuman and Blue (1999), ethnographic studies of cultural practices tended

historically to generalize about cultural experiences, whereas ethnographies of writing, which

have evolved in an era in which culture has been viewed as non-homogenous, tend to focus more

on diverse and conflictual issues, such as unequal access to cultural experiences and resources.

Ethnographies of writing are therefore likely to investigate the values of participants' practices,

the norms and conventions for the practitioners, and the ways in which the values are upheld.

These ethnographies are also more likely to begin with the assumption that literacy issues are

contested, and may therefore tend to study the relationships between different cultural groups and

the ways in which writing is used as a way of, for example, easing accommodation or expressing resistance.

Shuman and Blue conclude that ethnographies of writing are "rarely neutral descriptions" (1999, p. 111), indicating that researchers in this tradition will inevitably need to cope with questions of values, possibly even making a concern over the question of resistance or of access to writing practices a central focus in their studies. I thus had to ask myself where I stood in my own study: to what extent did I intend to focus my study on the differential access of native and non-native speaking scholars in International Relations to resources? Where was I positioning myself and this study in terms of adopting a critical approach to literacy?

McLaren (1993) writes that critical theory analyses of literacy focus on the ideological roles of literacy and on how political and cultural assumptions about texts affect the production and distribution of power. He adds that a critical literacy approach has developed from a growing understanding that learning how to read and write may guarantee neither equality nor an accurate understanding of reading and writing, but rather may lead to new forms of domination and colonialism. Because of the focus in critical research on the influence of power, literacy researchers considering this approach need to ask whose interests are being served in the act of doing research and to what degree are they taking into account ethical and political issues related to literacy.

Critical approaches, therefore, generally assume that there are dominant and dominated groups, and that since the complex relationship between power and knowledge serves the interests of the privileged groups, the dominated groups need us, the researchers, to assume a proactive position in critiquing the situation and affecting change on their behalf. I am not entirely comfortable with such an approach, generally preferring one that supports the idea of

letting the focus participants of our research be the ones to have the privilege of determining the issues and defining their needs. My feelings are in line with Welsh (1985), who writes that we must avoid the "temptation to define others' hopes for liberation" and that "a concept of freedom is most effective as it is rooted in the imagination of the people to be freed" (p. 83). I also agree with Lincoln (1993), who takes argument with the critical notion that the inquirer knows *a priori* what transformations are needed. She also writes that this right belongs with the inquiry participants, whose lives will be most affected by any transformation.

Researchers who take a critical approach to education and/or literacy (e.g. Fairclough, 1989, 1995; Freire & Macedo, 1987; Giroux, 1993) would perhaps argue, however, that the experiences of the oppressed have been shaped and limited by ideology and power imbalances, and that therefore allowing them to name or define their struggles may not be the best way to serve their interests. Essentially, they might suggest, we as researchers may need to help them understand the contexts in which their particular realities have been shaped, and how their experiences have been affected by power structures. The critical theorists may have a legitimate argument in the case of some groups, but it is essential to carefully consider the particular characteristics of the group we are studying before assuming its members need or want such assistance.

In the case of practicing Turkish International Relations scholars, it did not seem appropriate for me to say that on the basis of their ethnicity or their status as non-native speakers of English this group needed empowering. It did seem appropriate for me, however, to structure my research in such a way that I was receptive to and able to distinguish any claims they made about imbalances or about a hegemony of certain groups in the International Relations discipline. For example, if they reported having experienced what they considered to be unfair treatment by

journal editors or conference coordinators due to their non-native English speaking background, or if they expressed feelings of being pressured into certain areas of study because of their ethnic background, I was ready to delve further into these topics. In a sense, I took a constructivist approach but with a critical consciousness ready to be tapped if the call came.

Perhaps my somewhat optimistic view about the ability of my participants to best determine how to empower themselves without overt action on my part stems from my interpretation of the poststructuralist rejection of reality as a single worldview of objectively determined subject positions. If social life is a struggle among competing discourses, and these discourses include a variety of choices of positionings, this seems to suggest an inherent transformative potential. Individuals may be seen as able to shift positionings or to learn more than one discourse, and can therefore have the potential of challenging dominant discourses and the subjectivities assigned by them.

Then again, perhaps it is this interpretation of a transformative potential that in fact stems from my focus on this particular group and community. First, the International Relations core disciplinary community in North America--though its record of published work on the matter is very slim--has at least shown me that it is open-minded to discussions about access and disciplinary transparency. Virtually every core scholar with whom I have ever spoken, including two past presidents of the discipline's largest association, has admitted that the topic of scholarly exchange between International Relations communities in different countries is a vital one to the growth of knowledge within the discipline, particularly in an era of accelerated globalization and internationalization. My paper proposals on the issue have been accepted at International Relations conferences (Mathews, 1999a, 1999b, 2000), and the presentations greeted with interest. The one article on the subject that I have submitted for publication was promptly

accepted and published in a leading International Relations journal (Mathews and Aydinli, 2000). These experiences give me confidence that there is a potential for transformation within the disciplinary community of International Relations.

My particular participants were academics working in a highly political discipline, and therefore their very livelihood evolved around questioning, probing, and analyzing. It seemed unlikely that none of them would have considered the broad issues I might have raised from a critical theory perspective, such as imbalances in access to publishing outlets, or restrictions on foreign scholars' freedom to choose research topics. I could not presume that I would find clearly articulated voices challenging a dominant discourse. However, I did expect to find a variety of voices or ways of expression through these scholars' literacy practices and their self-reporting of them. I was confident that this resulting array of participant positions would include those of both dissent and assent.

The latter point of possible acceptance was significant in my rationalization for not adopting a fully critical approach. In works about other groups of academic writers, for example, Ivanic's work with adult students returning to higher education (1998), she reminds the reader that readers and writers may not share values and beliefs. This mismatch is argued to possibly lead a writer to miscalculate what the reader expects, and therefore produce something that the reader will not approve of. In my study, however, I was prepared that some of my participants would perhaps share the same values with their readers in the dominant group of the core IR community, and thus not want to change the norms or conventions of the discipline. There was also the possibility that some participants would not feel that they were receiving unfair treatment from the core IR community. Ultimately, since I was not able to predict the array of positions I would

find among my participants, I preferred to position myself as primarily a conversational partner for my participants' voices than as an advocate for any particular agenda.

Under the broad heading of a "critical" perspective, it is important to include a brief mention of my beliefs and positioning on feminist models of research. Among my participants, there were both male and female scholars, and I was conscious of seeking a reasonably well balanced mix of participants based on, among other things, gender. My consciousness of the possibility that significant differences could have emerged in the literacy practices of my participants as based on gender, carried into my research at all levels. My interviews with female participants, for example, included questions to assess their feelings about gender differences among International Relations scholars in Turkey and among Turkish academia in general. I directly asked them, for example, whether they felt their gender had affected their professional advancement as an IR scholar. My own observations have been that there is often an imbalance of expectations for male and female undergraduate students in Turkey. Despite what appears to be near-equal numbers of young men and women completing undergraduate degrees, the women often leave their chosen professions permanently--or fail to ever begin working--to become mothers and housewives.

For those students who continue past the undergraduate level, the numbers in the field of IR remain fairly evenly distributed between men and women, and the imbalances seem to be less apparent. Statistics of the numbers of men and women in IR in Turkey show that the numbers of women scholars are increasing. While there is quite a large imbalance between numbers of male and female professors (33 and 9 respectively), as you move into the younger generations of instructors and research assistants, the numbers become more even (25 male and 19 female instructors; 68 male and 58 female research assistants). It is also interesting to consider that, in

terms of publishing in Western journals, female and male Turkish scholars perhaps find they have more complaints in common as Turks than they have differences as men and women. While scholars from the periphery, including some of my participants, have complained that they receive unfair treatment from North American journal editors because of their "foreign sounding names", this same problem may protect female Turkish scholars from feeling additional gender biases. Few North Americans, for example, would be able to understand from the names "Suha Bolukbasi" and "Duygu Sezer" that the former was a man and the latter a woman, but they might assume that both authors were "foreign".

A feminist perspective has certain relevance for my inquiry. I admire many feminist researchers for the insights they have introduced to research approaches, and thus I drew on some of their findings. For example, it is partly out of respect for the works of minority group feminists such as Garcia (1989), Hurtado (1989), Chow (1987), and Green (1990), who all criticized earlier feminist work as 'white women' assuming to speak for 'all women', that I drew my caution and hesitancy to assume a critical approach. Like those 'white women' that they criticized, I did not wish that my work would be seen as claiming to speak for all Turkish International Relations scholars or for all scholars from outside North America or Western Europe. Also important for me was Fine's (1992) work on disabled women, which pointed to the fact that even sympathetic research on disabilities was inclined to treat its participants as only the sum of their disabilities rather than as women with multiple statuses. Her insightful analysis helped impress upon me the importance of representing my participants as more than just uniform, uni-dimensional Turkish scholars.

In this study I intended, therefore, to maintain a feminist consciousness not unlike the overall critical consciousness discussed earlier. Gender differences and their effects on my

participants and even on myself as a female researcher, played a constant role in my research, but did not play an *a priori* role in my research agenda. If my participants' voices--either overtly or through my interpretation of their literacy practices--seemed to warrant a more directly feminist approach in order to understand the differences, I would try to respond to this need.

Gaining Access to the International Relations community

Contrary to many research situations, I found myself in this study in the interesting position of investigating participants who, at least in terms of education and perhaps social or economic status, could be considered my superiors. Although we also shared a common membership in the academic community, there too, they held positions senior to mine. Moreover, a large portion of the presumed audience for this research, other International Relations scholars from both the core and the periphery, share these traits with my participants. Consequently, when I thought about my role as researcher, I most often turned to considerations of respect--how could I gain the respect of my participants and future readers?

In terms of my Turkish participants, my status as an American with an interest in researching Turkish International Relations scholars, was adequate to gain me at least initial access to virtually any scholar I wished. In order to maintain their respect, however, and to improve my future chances that core International Relations scholars would read my study and take it seriously, I felt there were three things I had to do. First, it was important that I was well-versed in the International Relations literature. In order to feel adequately well-versed, I read extensively from the course lists of both undergraduate and graduate courses that my husband had been enrolled in or was teaching, to insure my familiarity with the key disciplinary works by International Relations theorists. I was and remain still a member of the International Studies

Association and receive and read their quarterly publications, which are among the discipline's leading theoretical journals. Second, and equally important, I felt I had to appear confident in my own discipline of Second Language Education. For my participants this meant that I should be able to verbalize my research goals succinctly, and conduct my research in a professional and efficient manner. While my participants and readers from the field of International Relations would not perhaps be able to directly assess the depth or accuracy of my knowledge about my own discipline, I felt they would be more likely to respect me and my work if I presented myself as a "serious academic-in-the-making".

The third thing I felt I had to do to gain respect was to not appear as a 'radical'. I felt that appearing as a 'radical' to my participants had two basic aspects. The first was a very simple one of dressing properly when I met with the participants. Academics in Turkey tend to dress quite formally-suits and ties for men, dresses or slacks for women. Interestingly, in Turkish public elementary or high schools female teachers are required by law to wear skirts or dresses. Thus, I was conscious of dressing formally for the interviews.

The second aspect of 'radicalism' that I wanted to avoid was related to my research perspective. International Relations is still a conservative discipline in the sense that it has a quite clearly defined research hierarchy in which realist paradigms and power politics dominate. Many core IR scholars still view critical or feminist approaches to IR as non-mainstream or even fringe. These approaches are even less familiar in Turkey. This conservativeness was a further influence on why I believed adopting an overtly critical approach would be less effective than the constructivist one I chose, since the former was more likely to be dismissed outright by International Relations scholars. Constructivism, on the other hand, has been undergoing a phase

of popularity and respect in International Relations, and a study in this tradition seemed more likely to be given greater consideration.

Culture, Gender, and the Crisis of Representation

A final concern I needed to address was that of representation. How could I, as an American, adequately and properly interpret the experiences of these Turkish scholars and achieve my research goal of understanding what factors they were mediating and negotiating through their literacy practices?

Some of the consciousness that feminist theorizing (particularly Third World theorists such as Spivak, 1988) raised in me evolved around questions of how I, as a Western woman, would represent them, as Turkish women and men. I was wary of overemphasizing differences and presenting them homogeneously as subjected "others". However, at the same time I was concerned about misinterpretations or false conclusions I might reach by failing to understand the differences that did exist. For example, Western interpretations of women in Islamic countries, such as Turkey, have very often fallen into the trap of viewing surface differences with a western eye, so that the wearing of veils, for example, is perceived as a sign of the Muslim woman's oppressed condition. Muslim women, however, have shown how an "Eastern" interpretation (one of the first of such being Mernissi, 1975) may see the strength that Muslim women also hold in society. It is frequently noted, for example, how women in Muslim countries often hold the primary power within the house--including the crucial element of controlling the expenses.

My own experiences helped me to understand better how interpretations can vary, and also helped me to work through some of my concerns about differences and similarities among and between me and my participants. For example, before living in Turkey I, too, quite consciously saw the wearing of headscarves as a sign of women's oppression. I use the term 'headscarves' to refer to the head covering most commonly used in Turkey. These headscarves cover the hair but not the face, and are called in Turkish *baş örtüsü*-literally, "head cloth". Subconsciously, I viewed these headscarves as an obvious sign of "them" being very different from "us" modern Western women. I gradually experienced changes in my perception of women in headscarves as I spent greater amounts of time with these women and as I became more familiar with their daily routines and with the Turkish language. Initially, I had stereotypical preconceptions about Turkish women who wore headscarves--I assumed they were less educated, more religious, more conservative. As a "modern Western woman", I assumed I would have little in common with such a woman. The headscarf itself acted as a very visible sign (like skin color can for racists) for me to draw immediate conclusions about any woman I saw wearing one. When I was in the early stages of learning the Turkish language, and I was in the company of women wearing headscarves, my ears seemed to perk up and select the one familiar word of "Allah" as coming through in every second sentence. Hearing this word served to confirm my already fixed preconceptions about their conservative religiousness.

One day, however, I was sitting with my mother-in-law and some elderly women, when one of them removed her headscarf, not just for a quick readjustment, but for several minutes. I continued to listen to their conversation as they discussed what their children were up to, the rising cost of groceries, and the freak rainstorm that had occurred the day before. It suddenly became clear to me that nothing of real significance would have been different if we had been

sitting in the North American mid-West instead of central Anatolia. Even the frequent use of "Allah" was now understandable to me as nothing more than when someone here says "God it's hot" or "Thank God it didn't rain before we got home."

My observations over the years of rural Turkish women and their headscarves have allowed me not only to see beyond the barrier I had allowed them to create, but also to gain a more in-depth understanding and interpretation ability of the symbolic significance of the headscarf itself. For some women it is a fashion statement. The material and decorative embroidery or tatting can vary greatly, and the scarf can be worn in very different and individualistic ways. Many women adjust or change their scarves' wearing style frequently, much in the same way that un-scarved women with long hair may play with their hair or put it up and let it down. For other women, the scarf has an ideological significance, for example, the degree of a woman's commitment to Islam can be expressed through the manner in which she wears her scarf. Or the wearing of the scarf can be overtly political, for example, in the case of women who support democratic movements in Turkey and therefore wear headscarves to protest the laws that forbid all state employees or students from wearing them. For other women, the headscarf has little or no significance except that wearing it has become a habit.

I have included these lengthy examples because they reveal my own past experiences with issues of representation and of my relationship with the "other"-experiences of cross-cultural observation I drew on extensively when designing and conducting this research. Rather than shy away from the complexities these experiences revealed to me, I prefer to follow Bakhtin's example and celebrate these questions of "otherness". I try to appreciate, as he did, the value of looking at things from the perspectives of both self and other:

There exists a very strong, but one-sided and thus untrustworthy, idea that in order to understand a foreign culture, one must enter into it, forgetting one's own, and view the culture through the eyes of this foreign culture. This idea, as I said, is one-sided. Of course, a certain entry as a living being into a foreign culture, the possibility of seeing the world through its eyes, is a necessary part of the process of understanding it; but if this were the only aspect of this understanding, it would merely be a duplication and would not entail anything new or enriching. Creative understanding does not renounce itself, its own place in time, its own culture; and it forgets nothing. In order to understand, it is immensely important for the person who understands to be located outside the object of his or her creative understanding - in time, in space, in culture (Bakhtin, 1986: 7).

In attempting to represent the study participants' literacy practices in this text, therefore, I try to let the participants' own voices come through as much as possible. I also try, however, to enrich the events by seeing and knowing what I do from my outsider position. In this combination of perspectives, I, we, try to understand these individuals and their choices.

Turkey

Figure 1. Map of Turkey

The scholars in this study are all of Turkish origin, in the sense that they were all born and grew up within the borders of the Republic of Turkey (Figure 1). They are also all currently working at universities located within Turkey. This shared context, despite its tremendous

heterogeneity, warrants discussion, since it can be considered as a factor generally affecting the scholars' literacy practices. As scholars of international relations, certain cultural, social, and political elements of Turkish life in particular can be seen as potential influences on what these academics chose to write and read. In the next section I provide a background introduction to the country as a whole and of the main factors that have particularly influenced current perceptions and self-perceptions of who Turks are. These factors can be generally grouped under the headings of Turkey's affiliation with the west, the elite vs. society gap, and minority issues in Turkey (for more in-depth discussion of these factors and others, see such works on Turkish identity as Kushner, 1997 and Mango, 1994).

Modern day Turkey lies between the Mediterranean, Aegean, and Black Seas, on part of the lands that once made up the Ottoman Empire. At the end of the first World War, as the Ottoman Empire was being divided between various European powers, Turkish nationalist forces led by Mustafa Kemal began a War of Independence. Two years later, in 1922, the allied European forces acknowledged the victory of the Turkish forces, and agreed to recognize Turkey's new borders. The modern Republic of Turkey was established in 1923. Its first president, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, sought and succeeded in achieving dramatic westernizing reforms for the new republic, including the implementation of a western-style constitution, adoption of the Gregorian calendar, a Latin alphabet, and the metric system. Many of his reforms focused on secularization, including the abolishment of polygamy, and the removal of Islamic courts in favor of new secular law codes. Traditional Islamic clothing was banned, religious schools closed, and alcohol was legalized. Another theme to the reforms was that of Turkification. Thus, city names were Turkified; the Kurdish language was outlawed; and the daily calls to prayer were ordered to be made in Turkish rather than Arabic. Other dramatic reforms

were made for Turkish women. Under the Ottoman Empire, women were greatly restricted in their rights, and were legally under their husband's control. With the new civil code introduced by Ataturk, women were given the legal right to work and were officially granted equality. It is often pointed out by Turks that women in Turkey had the right to vote years earlier than their counterparts in many western countries.

Turkey is a country of approximately 70 million people. Though the majority are ethnic Turks, there are many different ethnic groups, from Kurds, Laz, Hemsin and Circassians to small numbers of Greeks and Armenians. The populations of these groups vary according to who is reporting, but the largest group is clearly the Kurds, who number probably around 12-15 million. There are also approximately 26,000 Jews belonging primarily to the Sephardic community, and living in the major metropolitan areas of Istanbul, Izmir, and Ankara. Turkish, which is now classified as belonging to a distinct Turkic language group including Azerbaijani, Kazakh, Khirgiz, Uyghur and Uzbek, is the official language of the country.

Turkey's transition to a modern, developed and democratized country has not been completely smooth. Despite its official adoption of multi-party democratic politics in the early 1950s, there have been a series of military coups, occuring in 1960, 1970, 1980, and a so-called "postmodern coup" (Aydinli, 2002) in 1998. These were all essentially bloodless coups-with the exception of the 1960 coup, in which post-coup trials resulted in the executions of several government leaders. In all cases, the coups were temporary military takeovers at times when the military leadership felt the elected civilian government was failing to cope adequately with risks from ideological threats to the country. Dramatic economic reforms under the leadership of the late President Turgut Ozal in the 1980s brought about tremendous improvements in the overall

development of the country, nevertheless the average yearly income of Turkey remains low

(approximately US$2,500).

Perhaps the most striking element of Turkey's rapid economic development is the huge

and ever-growing gap between the small percentage of rich elite Turks and the masses of poor

ones. To most foreigners living, as I do, on a private university campus, "Turkey" seems

comprised of fully westernized academics and of young people whose families can afford to buy

them expensive cars and wardrobes and rent them luxurious apartments. For most foreigners

living in Turkey, and indeed for many wealthy urban Turks, there is little contact with the

millions of average "middle class" Turks who live on salaries of US$400 - $500 monthly, let

alone the large numbers of poor Turks whose incomes are far less.

The gap between Turkish society's elite and masses exists, however, at a much deeper

level than a purely economic one. Dating back to the early days of the republic, the masses of

Turkish society came to be seen as a threat to the revolutionary westernizing measures that were

being promoted by the elite leadership. The masses represented, for example, a strict adherence to

Islam and an ethnic/religious diversity that ran in the face of the elite's secularizing and

Turkifying reforms. With the introduction of multi-party democratic politics, the 'dangerous'

masses were given the means to express their voices. The result of this expression has at times led

to elected governments whose policies run counter to the ideals of the elite. Since the elite retain

power however, over certain highly influential institutions in the Turkish state such as the

judiciary and the military, such governments have often been faced with the unresolvable conflict

of disappointing their constituents or taking on the powerful military and judiciary. For this

reason, Turkish politics up to the current day has several cases of military coups and legal

closures of political parties. The current leading party in the Turkish government (the AK Partisi

or AKP) is a spin-off of at least two formerly closed down Islamic parties. The party leader, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, has only recently been allowed to assume his position as Prime Minister because he had been banned from politics for reciting in public a poem deemed to incite religious action.

At the societal level, the gap between the elite and the masses seems to exist at the level of image as well. The average elite family lives a life not terribly different from their elite counterparts in Western Europe or North America. Mom and dad drive their Hondas or SUVs to work, dropping the kids off at their private schools. Weekends are for the kids' soccer or piano lessons, and summer holidays are spent at the beach. It is unsurprising therefore that members of this lifestyle should identify themselves more closely with their western counterparts than with the large number of Turks who live agricultural lives or who work in the basic labor sectors of Turkish urban society.

A member of the Turkish elite's perception of the Turkish masses seems to be directly related to his or her own time and spatial distance from them. In other words, 'first generation' elite who may have themselves grown up in a village, have relatives still there (and therefore reason to visit), or whose older female family members may wear traditional head coverings, are far less likely to see the masses as threatening, than are second or third generation elite. The distrust is apparently mutual, as the November 2002 elections seem to have revealed. Although the recently elected government is in fact Islamic, their landslide victory is argued to indicate not a huge religious fervor among the masses, but rather an angry protest against years of corrupt, elite governments (Akyol, 2002; Bayramoglu, 2002).

The other element of an elite/societal gap is that which runs along ethnic or sectarian lines. The primary issues on this front are associated with the ethnic Kurds and the religious

minority Alevis. The Kurdish question in particular has had violent implications. The Turkish state's struggle with the separatist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), resulted in more than 30,000 deaths between 1980 and 1998. Though the military war against the PKK has now largely ended and the terrorist group leader is imprisoned, the political struggle over the question of Kurdish rights continues, particularly in light of certain requirements put in place by the European Union. Currently, the Turkish parliament is preparing to pass the final laws to meet the Copenhagen Criteria for minority rights. This involves the lifting of any remaining bans on educational, broadcasting and cultural rights for Kurds and other minorities. The proposed new laws are opposed by the military establishment, but are expected to pass nonetheless.

The Education System in Turkey

One factor affecting the literacy practices of academics is of course their previous educational training. This includes general education as well as specific disciplinary training and foreign language preparation. The formal education system for Turkish students consists of four levels: pre-school education, primary education, upper secondary, and higher education. Primary education combines five years of primary and three years of secondary schooling, while upper secondary consists of three years of additional training in a particular field or in preparation for higher or University education. Of the four levels, only primary education is compulsory by law. According to Turkish government sources, in the school year of 1992-1993, nearly seven million Turkish students, or 96.1% of those required to do so, attended state primary schools. Recent reports in the Economist magazine report similar figures for 1995-2001 (December, 2002).

The upper secondary level of education covers the three years of schooling after primary education. It is not compulsory by law. Currently 62.3% of students attend one of the various

types of upper secondary institutions. These institutions consist of all types of state high schools, vocational and technical high schools, special training institutions, private education institutions, and *imam hatip* or Islamic religious schools. Students attending many of these schools, including the special "Anatolian" state high schools which conduct classes in English or other foreign languages, as well as some private and religious schools, formerly began them after only the first five years of their primary education. A law passed by the Turkish Parliament in 1997, however, has now made it compulsory for students to complete all eight years of their primary education in state-run public primary schools. This law was passed essentially due to concern over the influence of early religious education and the increasing number of private religious schools. The rationale was that by keeping children in the state system until they completed at least 8th grade, these children would be mature enough to resist possible family pressure to enter the religious schools. Inadvertently, of course, the law blocked all 'alternative' schools, including progressive ones or schools with intensive foreign language instruction, from being able to implement their curricula with young children.

Students intending to continue on to university education must first participate in a nation-wide exam testing them on a range of subjects, from Turkish and a foreign language, to math, social sciences, and physical sciences. At the time of writing the exam, students indicate both their desired field(s) of study as well as up to 24 choices of institutions they would like to attend. When the scores are compiled, the Ministry of Education determines which students will be able to attend which schools, according to how they rank nationally. In the year 2002, more than one and a half million students wrote the university exam. Of these, approximately 450,000 were admitted into either a four year university program at one of the total 76 universities in Turkey, or a two-year program at colleges associated with the above universities.

While some universities may excel in one particular program or another, it is possible to generally rank the state universities as follows. At the top are the very old and established schools in Istanbul and Ankara. These include the English-language universities of Bosphorous and Middle East Technical, as well as the Turkish-language Istanbul Technical University, Ankara University, and Istanbul University. Other universities in these two cities, such as Marmara or Haceteppe Universities, are also rated highly. The ranks of universities located outside the three major metropolitan areas of Istanbul, Ankara or Izmir can be roughly judged on the basis of their age and relative distance from one of the above cities.

In addition to the state sponsored (tuition-free) institutions, there is also a rapidly growing number of private universities, such as Bilkent University in Ankara, which was established over fifteen years ago. In and around Istanbul the list of private institutions includes Koc, Bilgi, and Sabanci Universities. In general the language of instruction at these schools is English. At the larger private universities, the quality of education is considered to be very good, but at many of the others, the standards appear to be much lower-both for student acceptance and in terms of education quality. Tuition costs are often high--for Bilkent, Koc or Sabanci, the tuition in 2002 was approximately US$6,000. However, these schools do offer scholarships for students who achieve the very highest rank on the nation-wide university exam. This practice inevitably leads to some degree of stratification among the students at schools like Bilkent University, between those top quality students on scholarship and students with lower scores but adequate financial support to pay the tuition. From my own experience, I have observed two very distinct student communities at Bilkent. They are immediately distinguishable by outward features such as how fashionably they dress and whether or not they drive a car. In the classroom, they are separated by

the seriousness with which they approach their studies and their overall performance academically.

All matters related to higher education in Turkey are under the regulation of the Turkish High Education Council (*Yüksek Öğretim Korulu*, or YOK). This council was established in 1982 following the military take-over of 1980. YOK's founding was largely in response to the fact that much of the left-wing radical rebelliousness leading up to the 1980 coup, had been bred on the university campuses. The new government saw YOK as a way of keeping a strict central control mechanism over what appeared to them as a proven potential source of instability.

The president of YOK is appointed directly by the Turkish president. In general, the YOK administration as a body can be seen as acting in strong support of the principles and the stability of the Turkish state system-arguably placing these two factors as priorities over what might be considered as broader educational principles. For example, YOK maintains very tight control over the rectors of the universities. While this allows them to insure, for example, the secularist principles of the university system, it may also restrict the various rectors in ways that might be detrimental to the most efficient or effective operating of the universities. YOK policies have led, for example, to the firing on political grounds of scholars sent abroad for graduate studies, thereby leaving some university departments understaffed. Of the approximately 1,000 students sent abroad for foreign study in 1993/1994, for example, one third were subsequently fired on suspicions that they were either leftist, Islamist, or in some way considered a threat to the state. More controversial still have been the YOK-enforced policies of forbidding female students from wearing religious head coverings on university campuses. This has led in past years to serious protests on behalf of young women who were successful on the university exam, but who have been prevented from attending their classes because they refused to take off their headscarves.

The ruling has also led to some students wearing wigs or large hats to cover their hair. At Bilkent, a private university, faculty receive a message each fall from their Deans reminding them that they are not to allow students with headscarves into their classrooms.

In terms of Turkish scholars' literacy practices, the role of YOK becomes important since the council determines the publishing requirements for faculty promotions. One could assume that an obvious factor influencing a Turkish scholar's literacy choices would be the requirements for promotion. The requirements for achieving the rank of assistant professor are basic: a completed Ph.D., a passing score on a foreign language proficiency test, and some evidence of publication-the details of which are unspecified. The requirements for obtaining the title of professor are also basic. Essentially, an applicant must wait five years after becoming an associate professor. It is at the level of associate professor itself, that quite recent changes have been implemented. According to a university law from September 2000, and implemented as of the start of the year 2001, applicants for the associate professor title must provide evidence of a certain number of publications. This number is calculated on a point system as shown in Figure 2:

Figure 2. Official requirements for academic advancement to Associate Professor

INTERNATIONAL PUBLICATIONS	POINTS
All full articles published in SSCI, SCI-Expanded, or AHCI journals	4
All full articles published in other indexed journals	3
All full articles published by refereed journals in leading countries	2
All books published by leading international publishers	5
All book chapters in books published by leading international publishers (including encyclopedia articles)	3
All books edited and published by leading international publishers	4
Conference papers published in the proceedings of recognized academic and professional associations	1
Citations of your works by other authors	0.5

PUBLICATIONS IN TURKEY	POINTS
All full articles published in national refereed journals	1
All books published by recognized national publishers (excludes textbooks)	3
All chapters in books published by recognized national publishers (excludes textbooks)	1
All books edited and published by recognized national publishers	1
Management of a field project supported by a scientific association in the areas of archaeology, art history,	

and anthropology   1
Papers presented nationally (can not exceed 1 point)   0.25
TOTAL POINTS (At least 6 points necessary)
Note: For co-authored pieces: for 2 author works, each receives 0.8 of full points, 3 authors: 0.6, 4+ authors: 0.5.

Applicants earn the highest points, five, for any boks published by 'leading' international

publishers. Edited books and articles published in journals belongsing to one of the leading

indexes such as the Science Citation Index or the Social Science Citation index, earn four points.

While these are the requirements that have to be met in order to apply for advancement to

Associate Professorship, the final decisions are made following an examination by a jury of

professors in the applicant's discipline. The examination includes having the jury first look at an

applicant's documents, and then questioning the applicant orally. In addition to the officially

required publications totalling six points on the above scale, there are also unofficial criteria used

by the juries who examine the applicants' publications. According to my interviews with IR

faculty who have either served on juries and/or have gone through the jury examination process,

regardless of the total points held, an applicant seeking promotion to associate professorship

should have at least one or two scholarly articles in English, preferably in journals included in the

Social Science Citation Index (see Appendix A for a complete list of these journals) and at least

one book. Interestingly, the last five or so years have also seen what is considered by some as a

backlash to an earlier overemphasis on English language publications. It is now highly

recommended that applicants have some publications in Turkish as well. Given that the official

requirements of just six points are actually quite easy to obtain, much of the final decision rests

with the opinions of the jury. In other words, while one applicant may get promoted with the

minimum number of points, another may have considerable points, but still get rejected. This lack

of standardization and subsequent possibilities for manipulation must be considered when trying to determine how large a role the 'requirements' play in affecting scholars' literacy choices.

This example is an important reminder that there are various levels of power and authority issues affecting Turkish IR scholars in their literacy practices. In trying to link issues of power and literacy, it is useful to draw on Gee's (1990) discussion of dominant and non-dominant literacies and Discourses. Gee argues that Discourses are intimately linked to the "distribution of social power and hierarchical structure in society" (1990: 4-5). When people have control over the literacies that are related with a particular dominant Discourse, they can achieve greater acquisition of social goods, such as money, power and status. When they lack control over these dominant literacies, they are deprived from acquiring these social goods. Gee goes on to specify that those groups that have the fewest conflicts when using the dominant Discourse can be considered as the "dominant groups" (1990:5).

In the case of Turkish IR scholars' relations with various literacies and Discourses, the obvious "dominant group" that first comes to mind is the native English speaking community of core IR scholars. In terms of English language ability and familiarity with the discoursal expectations of the core IR discipline, core IR scholars are likely to have the least conflicts with the dominant literacies of writing for core academic journals or publishers-which provide privileged access to social goods of power and status in the discipline. For Turkish IR scholars, their relative familiarity with the English language and core IR methodology or debates, would also seem to determine the likelihood of conflicts with the dominant literacies of the core IR community.

However, the Associate Professor promotion process reveals that Turkish IR scholars must cope with the expectations of yet another dominant group. IR professors within the local

Turkish IR community also clearly wield control over the literacies that can provide social goods (in this example, promotion to higher title). Many of the local IR community scholars who have achieved the title of professor and who can, therefore, serve on the Associate Professor juries, were trained in Turkey and may not have a high level of English language ability. For them, the literacies they determine to be dominant are more likely to be in Turkish. They may also hold certain political ideologies that would lead them to privilege certain literacies, for example, writings that avoid critical views of state policies towards Cyprus or the Kurdish issue. Given that the local level dominant group is the one holding control over the most tangible form of social goods, it seems likely that their particular understanding of what literacies are dominant will significantly affect Turkish IR scholars' choices in their literacy practices.

English as a Foreign Language in Turkey's Higher Education System

The importance of English continues to rise in Turkey, as in most of the world. Whether in business, academia, or the service sector, knowledge of English is an obvious advantage. Public recognition of the need for foreign languages, in particular, English, has led to English being used as the primary language of instruction in the top state universities and in most of the new private universities. Students who are otherwise eligible to admission to one of these schools are required to prove their English competence, generally by scoring a certain score on the TOEFL. Bosphorous University, for example, demands a minimum TOEFL score of 550. Students with lower scores are enrolled in a year of English preparatory classes before beginning their program requirements. Students at the Turkish-language universities are also frequently required to take at least one class of foreign language credits per semester at the undergraduate

level, depending on the program of study. At the graduate level, students in many disciplines are increasingly being asked to read texts in English.

Turks' recognition of the growing dominance of English as the language of academia prompted the passing of a requirement in 1998 for graduate students entering programs even in Turkish-medium universities to pass a foreign language exam (a Turkish state-created exam similar to the TOEFL, but available for most major languages, such as English, French, Japanese, German, etc.). For faculty members throughout the Turkish higher education system, the ability to pass a similar foreign language exam is a primary requirement in order to be promoted to the Assistant Professor or Associate Professor levels.

The International Relations Discipline

International Relations, in the sense of constituting a distinct area of study within the social science paradigms of political science, is a relatively young discipline. The study of International Relations has traditionally been of primary interest to those concerned with policy-making or analysis, and has been generally looked at in the past from the perspectives of diplomatic history or international law. Today, students wanting to receive a degree in programs specifically devoted to International Relations are limited in their choice to a handful of schools worldwide-from the University of London, the Graduate Program of International Relations in Geneva, the University of Jerusalem, and a few programs in the United States, such as those at Yale University and at the Fletcher School of Tufts University. There are also several non-degree granting centers of international studies.

While these were essentially the only schools offering any formal study of International Relations up until the 1950s, the field has since grown rapidly, and increasingly has been taught as a branch of political science. According to one leading figure in the field, only in the last quarter century could the discipline be said to have acquired a "true legitimacy among scholars" (Brecher, 1998).

Theoretical study of International Relations, which aims to analyze the international system as a whole, has been dominated by the competing traditions of realism and liberalism, with Marxism having provided the main alternative until the 1980s. In general, a realist approach focuses on conflict between states. By providing explanations for such phenomena as war and alliances and by emphasizing competition, realism was the natural dominant theoretical paradigm of the Cold War era. Central to the tradition are the works of classical realist Hans Morgenthau (*Politics Among Nations*, 1948) and the neo-realist theory of Kenneth Waltz (*Man, the State and War*, 1959 and *Theory of International Politics*, 1979).

A liberalist approach, on the other hand, seeks ways of lessening states' natural tendencies for conflict. Among these mitigating factors, liberal theorists have considered the impact of economic interdependence, the effect of international organizations and institutions, and the proposal that democratic states are more peaceful than authoritarian ones and the spread of democracy, therefore, should be promoted. Predominant liberal theorists include Michael Doyle ("Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs, Part I", *Philosophy and Public Affairs 12*: 205-235, 1983) and Robert Keohane (*Neorealism and its Critics*, 1986).

Both of these traditions share certain assumptions, such as a given state system. Marxism, however, offered both alternative explanations for international conflict and proposed fundamental changes in the world order. From a mainstream North American or Western

European perspective, orthodox Marxist theories and neo-Marxist theories such as "dependency" theory, were largely discredited by the end of the Cold War era. The "deconstructionist" approaches which were critical of any effort to develop general theories, have been largely dismissed as having been a "self-consciously dissident minority of the 1980s" (Walt, 1998:34).

In the post-Cold War 1990s, despite a small minority of scholars working within critical or feminist approaches, the leading alternative perspective in International Relations has been held by the constructivists, who focus on ideas and their impacts rather than on material factors such as power or trade. Perhaps, best known among theorists using a constructivist approach is Alexander Wendt, whose work "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics" (1992) brought constructivism into the forefront of IR theorizing. While constructivist theories are far from uniform in terms of foci, they do all assume that state behavior is shaped by elite beliefs, social identities, and collective norms, and they use ideas and discourse as the tools to study individuals in particular contexts. Moreover, constructivist theorists would agree that these beliefs, identities, and ideas are all socially constructed.

The Hierarchy of International Relations

Renowned International Relations scholar and Harvard professor, Stanley Hoffman, once wrote that the International Relations discipline was "born and raised in America" (1977:59). European scholar, Frederick Gareau, wrote that International Relations is "as American as apple pie" (1981:779). In his 1985 book, *The Dividing Discipline*, University of British Columbia professor J.K. Holsti wrote:

> Hierarchy…seems to be a hallmark of international politics and theory. Most of
> the mutually acknowledged literature has been produced by scholars from only
> two of more than 155 countries: the United States and Great Britain. There is, in

brief, a British-American intellectual condominium...only [ ] the work of scholars in these two countries becomes disseminated regularly *throughout the community,* while the works of scholars in other countries are acknowledged primarily in the writer's own country or geographical region. It is not so much asymmetry of production as of consumption.

Certain problems within the discipline have been attributed specifically to its American roots. Hoffman criticized the American-influenced preponderance of International Relations studies focused on the present-driven by the constant need to answer the question of "what should we do?" (about, for example, the Russians) rather than "what should we know?" This focus on the present and the overall American dominance had led, he felt, to certain areas of inquiry being ignored. Among these was the functioning of the relations between the weak and the strong. He recommended, therefore, that the discipline should move away from its superpower perspective towards that of the "weak and revolutionary" (59).

No such sociological analyses on the state of the IR discipline either in general or locally have been produced in Turkey. The only remotely similar works I was able to locate were three pieces from the early and mid-1960s, all of which focused on the teaching of IR in Turkey (Ataov, 1960; Ataov, 1967; Bilge, 1961). These works could generally be seen as reflecting the 'birth' of IR as a discipline in Turkey. They are basically descriptive works explaining the new types of IR courses becoming available to political science students at various Turkish universities, and making the argument that IR deserved to be given even greater consideration as a distinct discipline separate from political science.

Unfortunately, despite the works of a few Western scholars (in addition to those above, see also Waever, 1998 and Euben, 2002), the situation in IR scholarship remains relatively unchanged today. Mainstream international relations theory could still be viewed as concerned almost exclusively with events in the West, which is often referred to as the "core," and includes

basically the economically developed countries of North America, Western Europe, Australia, and to some extent Japan. The corresponding term of the "periphery" is used to refer to the generally less economically developed parts of the world, such as South/Central America, Africa, the Middle East, and most of Asia. Eastern Europe and Russia are also considered as the periphery when this economic perspective is taken. The "core/periphery" understanding in terms of IR scholarship and theorizing, runs parallel more or less to the economic understanding. Even those critical theorists who challenge the dominant theoretical traditions (see e.g. Smith, Booth & Zalewski, 1996) are virtually silent on the issue of a theoretical failure to consider non-Western/Third World/ Developing World experience. This is not surprising since this critical work, including that of constructivists like Wendt (1992, 1999) is still generated from within and, by and large, for, the core. It can be challenged, therefore, on its appropriateness for raising core/periphery dialogue and understanding-a problem which in fact it may not even be attempting to address. The general reliance on Western experience and the subsequent presumption that this limited focus nevertheless allows for universally applicable theory application, remains largely unquestioned.

One of the very few exceptions to this is *International Relations Theory and the Third World*, an edited volume by Stephanie Neuman (1998), which compiles works of virtually all of the relatively well-known scholars who have examined issues of International Relations Eurocentrism. The book is an encouraging step in response to Gareau's warning of nearly twenty years ago that the "restricted club of [the International Relations discipline] does not have sufficient representatives from enough nationalities to render anything like balanced or objective decisions" (1981:802). Perhaps, it will raise some understanding that a lack of core/periphery

dialogue is detrimental to the very legitimacy of the International Relations academic community and to knowledge-making within the discipline.

International Relations in Turkey

There are now 76 universities across Turkey. Fifty three of these are state universities, and 23 are private. Approximately half of these universities have an International Relations department currently in operation or planned to open (for a complete list see Appendix B). Tables 1 and 2 give an overview of the total numbers of students and faculty members in the various IR departments.

Table 1. Numbers of students in IR departments of Turkish universities

	Admitted in 2002		Total current numbers		Graduated in 2001	
Undergraduate students	2,324 (1,313 women) (1,011 men)		10, 395 (5,131 women) (5,264 men)		1,666 (708 women) (958 men)	
Graduate students	M.A. 483 (195 women) (288 men)	Ph.D. 81 (35 women) (46 men)	M.A. 1,457 (536 women) (921 men)	Ph.D. 276 (112 women) (164 men)	M.A. 99 (34 women) (65 men)	Ph.D. 12 (8 women) (4 men)

Table 2. Numbers of faculty members in IR departments in Turkish universities

Total	Professor	Associate Professor	Assistant Professor	Instructor	Research Assistant
320 (122 women) 198 men)	42 (9 women) (33 men)	26 (8 women) (18 men)	75 (24 women) (51 men)	44 (19 women) (25 men)	126 (58 women) (68 men)

Note: The difference between the total number (320) and the totals by ranks (313) reflects the number of un-titled faculty, e.g. former diplomats.

There is naturally a great deal of variation between departments in terms of size and in general terms of quality or prestige. If one takes into consideration the university exam scores required for entry into the department, the five most highly rated IR departments in Turkey are, in order, those at Bilkent, Bosphorous, Koc, Galatasaray, and METU. Also ranking very highly (in 6th, 7th, and 8th positions) are the state universities of Hacettepe, Ankara and Marmara. A complete list of these rankings is included in Appendix C. It is noteworthy that the leading IR programs listed here all have English language instruction except for Galatasaray (French) and Ankara University (Turkish).

Summary

In this chapter I have introduced the reader to certain fundamental concepts interwoven throughout this dissertation. These include a social perspective on literacy and the interrelationship between the concepts of literacy practices, communities of practice, and power. I also provide a brief overview of empirical studies that have looked at literacy practices, or aspects thereof (namely writing), and point out the need for further studies exploring the factors affecting the literacy practices of NNS scholars in various academic disciplines.

I also present relevant background contexts for understanding three important elements that lie outside of the participants in this inquiry: myself, as the researcher; the context of Turkey, and the International Relations disciplinary community. I provide background information on who I am and how I approach this inquiry. I also give information on the modern Republic of Turkey. This information helps me to conceptualize certain social or political factors that could play a role in affecting scholars' academic literacy practices, particularly scholars of international relations, whose work often focuses on political issues. I also include in this section some background

information on higher education in Turkey and the role of English in higher education. Finally, I provide an introduction to the discipline of international relations and to the limited existing debate within the discipline about the role of NNS, or so-called "periphery" scholars.

In the next chapter, I build on this very general introduction to various elements of the current study, and focus in depth on three theoretical perspectives that have contributed to the overall framework applied in this dissertation. In chapter 3, I outline the principles underlying the methodological choices I made in designing and conducting the study, and in chapters 4, 5, and 6 I present the actual case studies.

Chapter 2

Social Frameworks for Understanding Academic Literacy Practices

In this chapter, I explore in depth the theoretical understandings that have contributed to a social approach to literacy. I then draw on these understandings to create a framework for looking at the academic literacy practices of scholars in relation to the various social systems in which they operate.

My previous research on the socialization of graduate students into the disciplinary community of international relations (1999c) helped to convince me of the importance of looking at scholars' literacy practices from a social perspective. In my earlier research, I observed how students' connections with the discipline, that is, how they saw themselves in relation to the discipline and how their disciplinary peers saw them, had a tremendous affect on the decisions these students made. For example, their relations with the discipline affected their choices on what disciplinary areas to specialize in, which advisors to study with, and what subjects to write about in their theses. However, there was not simply a one-directional 'causality' to be drawn between their relations with the discipline and the choices they made. I also observed how the choices these students made—in the ways they chose to interact with other disciplinary members-affected the way they were viewed by their peers. By "interacting," I am referring to both oral and written activities, and to interactions with disciplinary peers that range from the level of a particular department to that of the overall discipline of international relations. Thus, "interacting" could range from classroom discussions with fellow students, to reading books by international scholars, to writing a paper for a professor. I observed in these oral and written interactions a complex and multi-directional process of

identification from within (self-identification) and from without (labeling). This multi-layered process of identification both contributed to and was affected by the choices the students made when interacting with the discipline.

As noted above, much of the interactions between the individual students and the various "societies" in which they participated, took place by way of written texts. Therefore, when I decided to follow up my previous research in my doctoral research, I decided to focus in particular on individual/societal interactions involving written text. In turning to the written interactions, or literacy practices, of international relations scholars, I knew that I wanted to design a theoretical framework that would be expansive enough to encompass both individuals and the social worlds in which they conduct their day to day activities.

Thus, I turned as a starting point to the works of Vygotsky, who strove in his research to go beyond the individual, and to understand human higher psychological functioning by transcending the boundaries between individuals and their social worlds. A fundamental theme running through Vygotsky's works is that "inter-mental" psychological functioning (thus, social level functioning which occurs between people) leads to "intra-mental," or individual level psychological functioning. Unlike much work in psychology that considers the individual as its focal point, Vygotsky argued that "the social dimension of consciousness is primary in time and in fact. The individual dimension of consciousness is derivative and secondary" (Vygotsky, 1979: 30). Yet, another fundamental theme running through much of Vygotsky's works, is his idea that all social/psychological processes are fundamentally shaped by the accessible mediational means they employ. I was intrigued as well by this concept since, as he writes,

mediational means consists of "signs" to organize behavior, and these "signs" are made up of, "language, counting systems, menemonic techniques, art, writing, diagrams, maps, etc." (Vygotsky, 1981: 137). Thus, writing could be viewed as a means for shaping either in an empowering or restrictive manner human actions.

In trying to understand better how I might conceptualize literacy practices as a means for understanding both relations between societal members and the reasons behind individual members' choices in these relations, I was also drawn to the works of Vygotsky's contemporary, Mikhail Bakhtin. Bakhtin's theoretical construct of dialogicality provides an obvious starting point for understanding the role of language in interaction since its fundamental premise lies in the idea of language as being constructed via a 'dialogue' between speakers and the people with whom they are communicating. More than a simple dialogue, Bakhtin's dialogicality builds on the idea that language, in fact, every utterance made by an individual, represents an interaction between the individual and the social: "The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes 'one's own' only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent"(Bakhtin, 1981: 293-4). By drawing on both Vygotsky's and Bakhtin's theorizings, I began to understand more clearly the various ways in which IR scholars' relations with the social worlds of their discipline could be conceptualized.

Neo-Vygotskian Activity Theory

Working in the Soviet Union in the intellectually vibrant era of the 1930s, Vygotsky was a psychologist whose goal was to create a sociohistorical account of mind and of human activity. To accomplish this, Vygotsky looked at agents and at mediational

means. 'Agents' refers basically to the individuals carrying out any activity, and mediational means refers to the tools with which these agents perform the activity. As I discuss in the following section, however, it may be impossible to separate agents from the mediational means they employ. Vygotsky was particularly interested in a semiotic understanding of tools, such as language, counting systems, or diagrams. Bearing in mind as well his prioritizing of the social, or inter-mental functioning of human higher psychological activity, his overall approach was to integrate psychology with semiotically mediated human social interaction. Thus, processes and structures of mediation (semiotic or otherwise) are seen as providing the link between historical/ cultural/institutional contexts and the higher mental functioning of individuals. In the next section I discuss Vygotskian and neo-Vygotskian understandings of mediation.

Mediation

The concept of mediation is a prominent theme in Vygotsky's socio-cultural approach to mind (1978). He claimed that higher mental functioning is mediated by technical tools and by signs (psychological tools). Sign systems, such as language, are thus considered as mediators of human action. In his goal to link context with individual higher mental functioning, Vygotsky and his followers saw these mediational signs as limited by individual factors, but also as shaped by or emerging in response to a wide range of social-cultural forces. Working in the Vygotskian tradition, Wertsch (1991, 1998) acknowledges that Vygotsky's claims about semiotic mediation are very important. However, he argues that Vygotsky did not go far enough to specify how historical/ cultural/institutional settings are tied to various forms of mediated actions. Wertsch's

own aim, therefore, in his sociocultural approach to mind is to explicate how human action is situated in historical/cultural/institutional settings. The key to doing this, he argues, is by using "mediated action" as a unit of analysis, and the concept of "person(s)-acting-with-mediational-means" as agent.

Drawing on Vygotsky's concept of mediation, therefore, Wertsch (1991) outlines what he calls a "tool-kit approach", which looks at the differences that groups exhibit in their actions. This approach understands these actions in terms of the array of mediational means to which the people have access, and the patterns of choice they exhibit when they select particular means for particular occasions. This array of mediational means varies based on what is accessible to an individual both consciously and subconsciously, and includes both technical tools and semiotic tools. The notion of the "agent" of any action, therefore, goes beyond the simple concept of an individual with certain abilities, goals and motives, to the idea of an agent being that individual *together with* the mediational means. The very clear example Wertsch relates to illuminate this concept, is that of a blind man using a stick to tap the sidewalk and navigate his way. The man is performing the action of walking on the street by making use of a tool. We cannot say that the man alone is responsible for carrying out the action because without the stick, or some other tool, he would be unable to safely proceed to his destination. The only accurate conceptualization of the action's "agent" therefore, is a combination of the individual and the mediational means he is using.

Wertsch's second point about the accessibility of various mediational means, focuses on the necessity of providing an account of why particular means are used. Why, for example, does the man in the above example use a stick rather than echolocation--a

method of sending out electronic signals that is used very effectively by bats to accomplish the same overall goal? Obviously in this example, no human being has that particular means available for use. Questions of accessibility become more complex however, when we consider means that are made accessible to some but not others, or means that some choose not to access or to resist using.

As Vygotsky wrote, mediation can be through technical tools, as in the example above, or in the form of semiotic tools or signs, such as language. This distinction was dropped by other theorists working in a Vygotskian tradition, such as Zinchenko (1985), who combined tool-mediation and sign-mediation under one heading. In my analysis of literacy practices, I focus primarily on semiotic tools or signs; however I cannot ignore the role of other technical tools, particularly in light of the fact that technical developments, such as the internet, faxes, and on-line databases, sometimes lead to rapid changes in available means and access to them. The acts of gathering and submitting text, that constitute a fundamental part of academic literacy practices, can not be accomplished without various non-discursive, technical tools. Many journals now accept article submissions by e-mail, and some have begun to publish on-line, if not the entire journal text, at least the tables of contents so that scholars outside of the U.S. are more likely to have ideas about which topics are being debated. On the other hand, Canagarajah (1996) has argued that expectations that all scholars have equal access to these technical tools may also be unfair in the case of some scholars from the periphery, and may in fact make the publishing world even more exclusionary. My overall research, therefore, included an awareness of the existence or lack of various technical tools, such as computer and internet access, library facilities, fax machines and photocopiers.

When I consider the various scholars I spoke with while conducting this study, and in particular the means they might be using in their literacy practices, it becomes possible to imagine certain patterns emerging in the ways they might choose to use the means available to them. The following examples exemplify as well Wertsch's understanding of agent as being a coming together of both an individual—with certain characteristics—and accessible mediational means. Consider, for example, an ambitious scholar who has an overall desire for wide recognition, but lacks many accessible means, because he does not have strong English language skills, contacts with the North American IR community, financial backing, or reliable internet access. He is perhaps more likely to write primarily in Turkish and in less academic venues, such as newspaper editorials. Another example could be a scholar who has a wide array of accessible means, stemming from very strong English language skills, years of both training and teaching experience in the United States, and many close contacts within the core IR community. At the same time, this individual is quite content with her position in the local IR community, and is not seeking to improve her position dramatically. She might therefore write only when commissioned to come up with a chapter for a book edited by some friend and colleague in North America. Another example might be a scholar who has the training, language skills, and ambition to be a recognized voice in the core IR disciplinary community. Nevertheless, he finds that any attempts to write for the core IR community on topics beyond Turkey or the Middle East meet with a glass ceiling, since the core appears neither interested in nor receptive to theoretical works from the periphery. This scholar then turns to founding an English-language, peer-reviewed Turkish IR journal—in other words, creating a *new* mediational means.

Even these few examples provide evidence for Wertsch's assertion that comparative analyses may reveal differences in the mediational means available to agents and in the choices being made among them. Wertsch (1991) also suggests that since means are often used with little or no conscious reflection, it is only when confronted by comparative examples that one becomes aware of imaginable alternatives. It is with this understanding that I adopted a methodological position that this research could serve a purpose by bringing forth and analyzing the possibly unconscious choices that scholars make in selecting means. By exploring these choices in my inquiry, I could also educate others by showing examples that may not have occurred to them. Therefore, in this study I attempt to broaden Turkish IR scholars' consciousness of the possible array of mediational means at their disposal.

Of course, nothing is this simple. In order to stress the holistic aspect of an agent as a "person-acting-with-mediational-means", Wertsch also gives an example of a bright young student impressing people with his use of scientific speech genres. Wertsch notes that even though the boy made some factual errors in his speech, he was able to impress his teacher and classmates in part because of the particular genres he used, and in part because of his prior existing image in the classroom as a smart kid. In other words, a different child, for example, one with the image of being a sports jock, would not likely have impressed anyone with his use of a scientific speech genre. One can imagine that the others, students and teacher alike, would have been immediately more critical or questioning of what the "jock" was saying, probably pointing out flaws in his reasoning, or perhaps simply ignoring him. Such a child might, in essence, be denied access to certain privileged genres such as, in this case, citing scientific works. This example

shows how important it is, when considering the presumed 'choices' individuals have, to first bear in mind any preexisting stereotyped groups with which those individuals may be associated. It is then important to remain sensitive to the ways in which societal expectations of those stereotypes may be easing or restricting individual's use of or even access to particular means.

It is not quite so simple to say, therefore, that I serve up a fresh new menu of mediational means to Turkish IR scholars, from which they will or can select and immediately make use of to right any imbalances that might exist. Consider, for example, the most highly privileged "means" in the core IR community: a theoretically challenging, discipline-progressing, research article, published in one of a handful of key North American or Western European journals. Awareness of this genre and its importance will be of little use to Turkish scholars if they, like the "jock" are not considered the right people to be using that means. Moreover, it was not my position at the outset of this research to presume which imbalances might exist, or to assume that they are equal and valid for all of my participants. I sought, therefore, only to present and explore a range of means, and perhaps to raise awareness among both core and periphery-based IR scholars about the choices they make (or are not allowed to make) in their academic literacy practices.

My assertion that a certain type of research article is the most privileged means in the core IR community is corroborated by evidence from the United States. One case in particular is of interest. In 1992, a young, white, male graduate of the University of Minnesota, wrote an article entitled "Anarchy is what states make of it". The article was theoretically provocative, as it essentially introduced the North American IR discipline to

a constructivist approach, and called into question a key element (anarchy) in the previously dominant theoretical paradigm of realism. Alexander Wendt's publication of this article in the leading core theoretical journal *International Organization*, guaranteed that the work would be distributed among the majority of leading IR scholars worldwide. With this one article, Wendt was transformed from one among thousands of young aspiring IR scholars to being considered one of the most influential scholars in the discipline (Ringmar, 1997). Obvious questions arise: if the same article had been written by a Turk would the result have been different? Would a Turk have ever thought to write such an article? How would Alexander Wendt be recognized in the IR discipline today if, instead of that article, he wrote challenging, provocative articles about a different area in IR, for example, foreign policy? It is clearly important to recognize privileging patterns of specific genres as mediational means, and to make potential agents aware of as wide an array of alternative means as possible. It is equally important to make agents aware of what the use and choices of different means might signify and, ultimately, lead to. Since it is clear that accessibility may not simply stem from an individual's awareness of choices, there is the need to look carefully at the nature of the means being used, the actions they are meant to be addressing, and the historical/ cultural/ institutional settings in which they occur.

Activity Theory

Numerous scholars, working alongside, as students of, and as followers of Vygotsky, have striven to elaborate on his theories, and in doing so have contributed to our ability to address the issues of the previous section. Zinchenko (1985), for example,

made valuable reformulations of Vygotsky's approach when he criticized the latter's attempt to use word meaning as a unit of analysis, and replaced it with goal-directed, tool-mediated action. In this way semiotic phenomena are seen as *mediating* units of analysis, not being them. Another scholar, Vygotsky's student and colleague, Leont'ev (1981), also made a valuable contribution to Vygotsky's theorizing by extending the former's framework of analysis beyond its psychological emphasis, removing the focus placed on psychological entities like skills, concepts, and mental functions, and adopting instead as his primary area of analysis the unit of activity. Leont'ev's fundamental question was to ask what an individual or group was doing in a particular setting.

His activity theory framework outlined three levels of analysis: activity, actions, and operations. An activity, such as play, education, or work, takes place in a social, institutionally defined setting, and can be identified according to its motive, which is the force guiding the selection of actions, their operational composition, and the functional significance of actions. The activity is not necessarily determined by the physical context, but the participants impose sociocultural interpretations on the contexts. The second level is that of action, which is associated with the goal to be achieved. For example, classroom events such as lectures, tests, or discussions, enact the activity of education. Actions are then carried out by means of operations, which are the actual behaviors, or means of achieving the action's goal.

Engstrom (1990) draws on activity theory and constructs a model of an activity system as unit of analysis, which allows for an understanding of the relationship between actions and the on-going cultural activities in which they are embedded. Cole and Engstrom (1993) describe an activity system as "any on-going, object-directed,

historically conditioned, dialectically structured, tool-mediated human interaction" (3).

This definition could describe, for example, a discipline, a family, a religious

organization, or a political movement. An activity system is mutually reconstructed by

the participants using certain tools. The activity system concept is the most basic unit of

analysis because it analyzes the ways that concrete tools are used to mediate the motive

and objects.

The levels of analysis in activity theory can perhaps be better clarified by

applying them to the particular elements of this study, an example of which is shown in

Figure 3. In this figure, I have included only examples of goals and operations that are

relevant to literacy practices.

Figure 3. Levels of activity theory analysis

Activity →	(Motive)	Actions →	(Goals)	Operations
Being a Turkish IR Scholar	Analyzing relations between Countries	Production of disciplinary knowledge via literacy practices	Display/communicate/ create disciplinary knowledge	Genres e.g. --theoretical articles in Eng. --book chapters
		Renewing & refreshing disciplinary knowledge via literacy practices	Get tenure or grants Propose policy	--policy articles on Turkey --newspaper editorials
		Disseminating disciplinary knowledge through teaching	Be famous	
		Administrative duties		

One observation that might be made when looking at Figure 3 is that the motives of an

overall activity seem to refer more to societal motives/goals, and may therefore be able to

be generalized in a fairly neat manner. In other words, it would seem like there would be

only minimal disagreement among participants in the particular activity when identifying

the motives of that activity. The goals that are associated with the action of literacy

practices, on the other hand, seem to consist of both societal and individual goals, and seem therefore more likely to vary widely along with the individual doing the action and the operational means available to him or her. The range of possible interpretations of goals and operations is widened even more if we draw further on Engstrom's and Cole's works, and consider that individuals or groups can be involved in multiple activity systems.

Thus, the activity of "being a Turkish IR scholar" and the subsequent actions and operations of this activity, will vary if we speak about Turkish IR scholars operating in the activity system of the core North American IR community, the Turkish IR community, a particular Turkish IR department, or even Turkish society. A Turkish IR scholar operating primarily in the activity system of a particular Turkish IR department may be preoccupied, for example, with actions of teaching and administrative duties. This scholar's goals may be concerned with the progress of his students, or with the smooth operation of the department. Subsequently, the operations he makes use of in his literacy practices may focus on the reading of materials for his courses, the writing of recommendation letters for his students, or the distributing of memos to his colleagues. Another scholar may be more involved with the activity system of the core IR community, and thus pay more attention to actions of producing disciplinary knowledge through her literacy practices. Her goals may therefore be more generally concerned with displaying her disciplinary knowledge or possibly something more specific such as trying to obtain a visiting teaching position at a North American university. She might be expected therefore, to use operations in her literacy practices of writing articles for

prestigious North American IR journals, or reading the employment pages on major IR associations' websites.

Elaborating on the Concepts -- Bakhtin's Dialogic Theory and Genre Theory

While Vygotsky and neo-Vygotskian theorizing is useful for providing a broad framework for looking at Turkish IR scholars' literacy practices, the writings of Vygotsky's contemporary, Mikhail Bakhtin (1981, 1986), are helpful in extending certain Vygotskian notions. As some North American experts on Vygotsky's works (Wertsch & Smolka, 1993) have pointed out, Vygotsky failed to elaborate adequately on his ideas about the priority of sociality over the individual, and thus this remains an underdeveloped area within his theorizing. I have chosen therefore, to consider in particular those aspects of Bakhtin's dialogic theory that would help me elaborate on the ways that agents choose/use their mediational means, in what contexts, and why. In relation to the concept of means, Bakhtin's work on speech genres, combined with subsequent work that has been done recently within the scope of genre theory, are useful for understanding the idea of genre as means, that is, analyzing genres at the level of operations, or as routinized means to carry out certain actions.

Dialogism

Bakhtin focused on how language functions in particular contexts, and on how individuals use language to achieve particular purposes. He saw all language use as dialogic because our understandings of words and their usage is shaped by and developed through social interactions. Inherent in this belief is the idea that utterances and meaning

are jointly constructed by speakers and their interlocutors. Therefore, we can not look at *only* the individual or at *only* the community; we must begin with the idea that both have a role in the creation of an utterance, and then attempt to understand the interplay between them. Utterances are thus constrained by dialogical relationships. An utterance is made as some form of response to previous utterances, which it "refutes, affirms, supplements, and relies on…presupposes them to be known" (Bakhtin, 1986: 91). An utterance also speaks to future possible utterances: "from the very beginning, the utterance is constructed while taking into account possible responsive reactions, for whose sake, in essence, it is actually created (Bakhtin, 1986: 94).

Bakhtin indirectly develops the concept of the 'community' when he describes how utterances are shaped by "social languages". He considered social languages to be those 'languages' particular to a specific stratum of society, within a given social system, at a given time, such as:

> Social dialects, characteristic group behavior, professional jargons, generic
> languages, languages of the authorities of various circles and of passing
> fashions, languages that serve the specific sociopolitical purposes of the
> day (Bakhtin, 1981: 262).

Thus, social languages differ from national languages, in that they can encompass various national languages. In other words, a social language such as the jargon and behavior of French and Turkish lawyers may have commonalities that go beyond the differences in their national languages, and allow them to share a common understanding of legal matters. Conversely, multiple social languages can exist within one national language. Thus, a Turkish lawyer and a Turkish teacher, though they both speak Turkish, may not easily understand each other's professional behaviors or jargon.

If we consider the texts produced by Turkish IR scholars as 'utterances,' a dialogic perspective would indicate that we must look at them as evidence of the individual writer's relationships with other people. The individual writer's decisions to choose certain words, to adopt certain attitudes, or to construct particular arguments, do not spring from the vacuum of the individual mind, or as Bakhtin notes, words do not exist in some "neutral and impersonal language" (1981: 293). Instead, these choices represent the individual selecting existing words of the relevant social language(s) and giving them his own interpretation by "accenting" or "reaccenting" them (Bakhtin, 1981: 293).

By selectively choosing particular words or ideas from among the words of others, individuals establish their own beliefs and judgements, a process Bakhtin refers to as "ideological becoming" (1981: 134). Bakhtin's discussion of ideological becoming is therefore the key to a dialogical account of identity development. His view of identity development is thus a matter of engaging in dialogue with the words of others in order to strike an acceptable balance between "authoritative discourse" and "internally persuasive" and monologic discourse. Authoritative or official discourse comes from outside of the individual's consciousness, and is described as "the authoritative word (religious, political, moral), the word of a father, of adults, and of teachers..." (1981: 342). Internally persuasive or unofficial discourse comes from within our consciousness, and consists of assimilated forms of both official and unofficial language. A writer, in selecting from among the words of others, can be seen as negotiating the tensions that exist between the official and unofficial discourses.

In a dialogic perspective, therefore, the text is no longer seen as a passive and neutral link by which the ideas of an individual are being conveyed to other people. Differences in the texts are no longer seen as stemming from the individual writers alone. Therefore, a dialogic perspective would disallow a monologic or "univocal" suggestion that, for example, the lack of texts by Turkish IR scholars in core IR journals is simply due to language difficulties or other 'shortcomings' on the part of the individual scholars. Rather, a Bakhtinian interpretation of the dialogical function of text would look at the individual's relationship with the text as being dialectically mediated through various contextual filters. Therefore, it would take into consideration the possibility that these contextual filters may cause the individual to face contradictions and/or power imbalances.

Wertsch (1991) discusses the possible implications of failing to assume a dialogical approach to language in his reporting of studies about different social languages based on gender, and the subsequent conclusions that a univocal approach may inappropriately draw. For example, a researcher, who assumes he is posing univocal questions, considers a girl's response as "evasive" when she answers in an different, unrecognizable to him, manner. A univocal understanding, Wertsch writes, assumes that the codes of the speaker and the listener, or in this case, the Turkish scholar and core American audience, coincide. By failing to take into account the possible variations in the social language of Turkish IR scholars, there arises the possibility that a core audience will assess the Turks' texts with criteria developed by and for the core. For example, a core audience may criticize a Turkish text that fails to cite a particular American source that is considered as elemental to the topic, and which instead cites leading Turkish

sources unknown in the west. The key point Wertsch makes is that texts in fact have multiple functions, both univocal and dialogic, and that sociocultural contexts shape which of the two functions predominates. If this is correct, then the Turkish scholars' literacy practices might reflect the dynamic tensions between univocal and dialogic functions, and the factors affecting their literacy choices should fall into one side or the other. One of the goals of this study was to figure out what the factors are and where they lie.

<div align="center">Speech genres</div>

Bakhtin used speech genres as a way of categorizing utterances defined by criteria different from those used in linguistics. Speech genres may be distinguished from social languages in that the latter carry distinctive features as based on the social stratum of the speaker, while the distinctive features of the former are associated more with typical situations. Speech genres can be considered as a way of extending Vygotsky's notion of signs, and thus his concept of semiotic mediation.

As I introduced in the previous section, Bakhtin (1986) considered languages and speech genres as belonging to both a situation and to a speaker or group of speakers. Due to this sharing of ownership, he argued that there are no neutral words or utterances. In every utterance there are two factors: 1) the word--which could be considered as the means, and 2) the speaker giving the word intention and accent. Between these two factors, in other words, if we accept the idea of an agent as an individual plus mediational means, *within* the entity known as the agent, there is an irreducible tension. Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia refers to the process of appropriating words--the process of

taking words that belong to a particular situation or group of people and giving them one's own intention or re-accent.

Bakhtin also differentiates between primary and secondary genres. The former are those used in daily communicative activities, and are both context-embedded and localized. Secondary genres are removed from contexts and are more complex because they "rise in more complex and comparatively highly developed and organized cultural communities (primarily written) that is, artistic, scientific, sociopolitical, and so on...They lose their immediate relation to actual reality and to the real utterances of others" (1986, p. 62). Bakhtin's words here are a reminder of the complexity of a concept such as "context". It is noteworthy that the individuals in this study were mediating their relations with both the daily "real" contexts of their particular local IR department and university, as well as relations with the more abstract disciplinary community of IR. The demands, expectations, accessible privileged mediational means of each were all factors affecting the choices the scholars were making in their literacy practices.

Genres as mediational means

What are the mediational means that I consider in this research? Work within the area of genre theory was particularly helpful in operationalizing the idea of 'means' as included in the broad framework being discussed here. While older conventions of genre traditionally focused on grouping and describing the features of, in particular, literary texts, into certain categories (e.g. historical novels, poetry of witness, or gothic fiction), more recent conventions of genre (e.g. Swales, 1990; Bhatia, 1993; Freedman & Medway, 1994; Berkenkotter & Huckin, 1995), have begun conceiving of genres as much

more than merely texts. These scholars see genres as social practices, and thus help to generate useful concepts for elaborating on the idea of genres as mediational means. These newer conceptualizations of genre look at formal features of text as related to social motives; as shared expectations among some group(s) of people; or as responses to recurrent social situations. Bazerman (1988, 1994) goes so far as to write that genres are "forms of life", "ways of being", and "frames for social action." By incorporating a Bakhtinian perspective into genre studies, theorists have come to see genres as situated social actions, in the sense that they 1) arise in and are embedded in particular contexts and spheres of activity, 2) are learned through and used in interactions, and 3) are active in the sense of being dynamic, flexible, purposeful, and context-specific.

It is important to distinguish at this point between my understandings of the terms genre and discourse, and the ways in which I use these terms throughout this inquiry. Drawing on Ivanic (1998), I use discourse in a broader sense than the idea of genre, to refer to languages shaped by subject matter or ideologies,

> Discourses are shaped by subject matters and ideologies, such as history, skiing, a feminist perspective...By making particular discourse choices, [writers] are aligning themselves with particular interests [...] and ideologies (Ivanic, 1998: 46).

In this study, for example, I refer to 'international relations discourse'. Within IR discourse there also exist discourses of, for example, foreign policy, peace and conflict resolution, war and great powers, regional studies, or theory. Within IR theory discourse, there are further discourses of, for example, realism, idealism, feminism or constructivism. I use genre to refer to the more specific textual forms that are used by the study participants within the IR discipline, forms that are defined by the purposes, roles

and social relations within the IR disciplinary community. Examples of these include articles, single-authored books, book chapters, edited books, or policy reports.

<div align="center">Texts and contexts</div>

I do not believe that genre theory alone could provide the overall framework I am seeking in this research. One of the reasons underlying my preference for an activity-based unit of analysis over a genre-based one is in terms of conceptualizing text/context relationships. In considering text/contexts relationships, activity theory offers a way of easily viewing the two as mutually constructed or constitutive, in other words, looking at the text as "generator" (Wertsch, 1991). Genre theory, on the other hand, tends to posit the shaping influence as flowing unidirectionally from context to text, i.e. text as a "bearer of content" (Wertsch, 1991). Certainly, positive reconceptualizations of genre theory are moving away from traditional ideas of looking at fixed, neatly classifiable genres defined by textual regularities to viewing genres as ways of participating in a community (Miller, 1984), or genre analysis in terms of community purposes leading to particular features and not the features alone (Swales, 1990). In addition, Freadman's interpretation of genre production as a tennis match (1994) or Schryer's introduction of Bakhtinian dialogical concepts into genre analysis (1994) also attempt to invoke the give and take, reciprocally constitutive, and dynamic nature of genres. Nevertheless, it seems inevitable that a primary analytical focus on generic texts, and on locating and exploring the common regular features among them or within one of them, may lead researchers to concentrate more on the stabilizing aspects of genre rather than the dialogic, destabilizing forces. Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995) point out this problem, when they criticize

Swales for relying too much on text-based analyses. They also criticize Schryer for employing Bakhtinian concepts but in a sense failing to live up to dialogic theory as she might have done had she considered how individuals might be manipulating the genres and leading to modification in the overall system. Thus, her emphasis on uncovering and understanding patterns in the generic texts distracts her from giving adequate attention to the individual agent.

"Mediated action", on the other hand, by its very name implies dynamism, struggle, and change, and as an analytical unit of analysis seems likely to encourage inquiry that wholly embraces Bakhtin's understanding of genres as sites of struggle and as offering dialogic spaces. Once this understanding is achieved, it also becomes possible to deal with the problem of how to talk about regularity in texts and in social worlds, while still allowing for agency and creativity on the part of the individual (Winsor, 1999).

Bakhtin wrote that the most important characteristic of utterance is its generic form. Yet, it is important to not let the generic form be the only perspective of the utterance that we study. Bakhtin argues that the utterance, which by its nature is heteroglossic, is just one link in the chain of speech communication:

> Every utterance must be regarded as primarily a response to preceding
> utterances of the given sphere...Every utterance refutes, affirms,
> supplements, and relies upon the others, presupposes them to be known,
> and somehow takes them into account...Therefore each kind of utterance
> is filled with various kinds of responsive reactions to other utterances of
> the given sphere of speech communication (Bakhtin, 1986: 91).

Looking only at the form or genre is like looking, if we recall the example of mediational means given earlier, only at the blind man's stick. By broadening the unit of analysis to the mediated action (as Wertsch suggests) or to the overall system (as Engstrom advises), the stick or genre, with all its regularity, comes to be understood as part of an agent

(which also has in it an individual with the power to make choices) and that agent's interaction with a context or social world.

Returning to Winsor's concern about the coexistence of regularity and agency, it seems that a neo-Vygotskian perspective of looking at mediated action within an activity system would allow for both. Regularity can be explored at the generic level, in the sense that, for example, articles submitted to a peer-reviewed theory-based IR journal like *International Studies Quarterly*, will likely have high "lexical density" (Halliday, 1989) or will probably contain predictable "moves" (Swales, 1998), such as taking a clear position within a body of theoretical literature, therefore leading to a lengthy reference list. These features can be seen in the following opening two sentences of an article from *International Studies Quarterly*:

> A central problem of democratic theory is whether or not citizens can be expected to identify their interests and coherently express them in collective decision-making processes (see Riker, 1982). Debate on this issue has followed a number of fault lines, including the question of whether U.S. citizens are (or can be) sufficiently knowledgeable to develop reasoned preferences (Delli Carpini and Keeter, 1996; Lupia and McCubbins, 1998), whether public preferences are reasonably structured around coherent underlying dispositions such as political ideology (Converse, 1964; Sniderman and Tetlock, 1986; Hurwitz and Peffley, 1987, 1990; Sniderman, Brody, and Tetlock, 1991; Zaller, 1992), whether public attitudes are stable and consistent over time (Achen, 1975; Page and Shapiro, 1992; Mueller, 1994), and whether public attitudes and preferences are too responsive—or not responsive enough—to the situations and contexts of specific policy issues (Mueller, 1973; Zaller, 1992; Herrmann, Tetlock, and Visser, 1999).
> (U.S. Perceptions of Nuclear Security in the Wake of the Cold War: Comparing Public and Elite Belief Systems, by K.G. Herron and H.C. Jenkins-Smith, *International Studies Quarterly*, December 2002).

Articles for other highly respected but less theory-based IR journals, for example, *World Today*, may have less densely packed sentences, more examples of metaphorical or

descriptive phrases, and a less developed theoretical section leading to fewer references.

Consider for example the following opening lines of an article:

> Turkish-EU relations can be characterized as peculiar in the sense that
> much rhetoric but little substantive thought is regularly given to them.
> While the Turks have largely pretended that they would like to enter the
> EU someday, the Europeans have pretended as if they would allow that to
> happen. Since there is an implicit consensus that such a process requires a
> great deal of time and major changes, both sides have been able to
> postpone asking the inevitable question: can Turkey really give what
> Europe wants? (E. Aydinli & A.R. Usul, What Europe Wants, Turkey
> Can't Deliver, *World Today*, October 2002).

At the same time, obvious possibilities for creativity and choice can also be illuminated

within an activity system perspective. At the simplest level, in my study this meant

looking at the discursive and generic choices scholars make and have available to them,

while at a more creative level, it meant considering the strategies they use to resist using

certain means and the possible affects of these efforts on the system. It was these choices

and creative acts that are of greatest interest to me. In other words, what means are

available to the participants? Which ones are they appropriating? Which are they

resisting, and why?

Appropriating genres

In Figure 3, I present literacy practices as an 'action' in the activity of being a

Turkish IR scholar. If literacy practices are interpreted as interactions with other IR

community members through the medium of texts (either receiving others' words through

reading or contributing to the dialogue through writing), then it is possible to conceive of

certain "means." These means could include, for example, writing in English or in

Turkish, writing on Turkey, taking a theoretical perspective or a policy-oriented one,

writing research articles or newspaper columns, writing for journals or writing for edited books. It is then possible to further specify each of these general means into far more specific tasks, such as, writing for a journal like *International Security* or a journal like *Journal of Conflict and Resolution* (two core journals on similar topics, the former generally includes articles within a neo-realist IR analytical framework, and the latter is known for usually publishing quantitative, big-N studies), writing for the mainstream Turkish daily newspaper *Hurriyet* or for the left-wing intellectual newspaper, *Cumhurriyet,* or choosing to use the word "terrorist" versus "ethnic insurgent" when describing the PKK. Given my interest in the broader concept of literacy practices (Street, 1993) and understanding the larger social purposes behind the scholars' uses of literacy, the means that are of interest to me also tend to be quite general, such as language, venue, topic. Were I more focused on particular literacy events (Heath, 1983), I would have chosen to consider focused lexico-syntactic or textual means such as citations, paragraph or sentence structure, and so on.

When I consider the tensions between my participants, the mediational means they can access, and the various contexts in which they are embedded, it is obvious that some means will be easier for the scholars to appropriate than others. Some means will make them angry or frustrated (and therefore may be avoided), some may bring out the rebel in them, or perhaps the ideologue (e.g. nationalist sentiments). When looking at the question of agency, Bakhtin writes of a speaker "forcing [the word] to submit to one's own intentions and accents" (1981, p. 294). He writes that while agents must appropriate the words of others, some of which may be foreign or alien to them, they can still choose *how* to appropriate them. This choice can exist on a scale from actively embracing those

words to strongly resisting them. The analytical concepts of appropriation and resistance are of tremendous interest to me. Clearly, my participants have choices in their literacy practices. Yes, they are required to appropriate "words" or genres (in other words, choose *some* mediational means), but they can choose to accept them, resist them, something in between, or even opt out of some of them. The questions I set out therefore to address were, what are my participants doing? Why are they doing it? What might the possible implications be for the society or the discipline? Ultimately, as Ivanic (1998) asks, what is their sense of themselves as scholars and authors?

Of course, the choice to use or not to use, to appropriate or not, may not be entirely within the individual's control. As Wertsch (1998) points out, if an individual is required to use a tool towards which they feel some sense of conflict, their performance with that tool may be characterized by forms of resistance. It was possible to observe examples of such conflict—and sometimes, subsequent resistance—when considering the study participants' use of such 'tools' as deciding in which language to write, whether or not to write on the subject of Turkey, which venue to publish in, and what style of writing to use. It was, for example, interesting to observe emerging tensions among those scholars who had previously avoided writing for the core IR community due to conflict or discomfort with the tools required for doing so, but who were increasingly being pressured to use these tools to meet new institutional and system-wide publishing requirements implemented by the Turkish High Education Council and discussed in chapter 1.

To clarify this last point further, consider the example of the following tool: the English-language research article intended for a peer-reviewed core disciplinary journal.

For Turkish IR scholars, writing such articles is now an important part of the process of gaining tenure or pay raises (this is the case in many developing countries, for more on this issue see Bhatia, 1997). The new publishing requirements for faculty in the social sciences gives the highest recognition and credit to publishing such articles in journals listed on the Social Science Citation Index. In the discipline of International Relations, the index includes 52 journals, 49 of which are in English, two in German, and one in Dutch (see Appendix A). While such a publishing requirement may strike North Americans as a positive move to insure quality faculty, the requirement must be judged with awareness of the full context. First, the requirement applies to all state university faculty members--the vast majority of whom have not had the privilege of studying abroad, who teach in Turkish-language universities, and may quite understandably, therefore, lack sufficient language skills to publish on their own. Second, the law fails to consider that even for the privileged few who do not face language difficulties, there may be issues of accessibility that are beyond their control. Recall Wertsch's notion of certain means being considered inappropriate for some individuals/groups. Third, it is questionable whether the motives of the current High Education Council leadership are purely in the pursuit of academic excellence, or whether they are imposing their own measure of gate-keeping as part of an institutional and discursive practice to accelerate the divide in the Turkish Higher Education System between the elite—who are generally more proficient in English—and the "dangerous" lower classes who are more likely to be Islamists or leftists.

Whatever its motivation, the new institutional imposition of publishing requirements adds an element of power struggles into Turkish scholars' appropriation of

tools or choice of means by clearly labeling as 'most prestigious' certain genres that may be accessible to only a select few. This situation makes an analysis of the appropriation process more complex, and suggests that, at least to some degree, it could be useful to draw on de Certeau's account of consumption (1984). While Bakhtin saw appropriation as a site of struggle, de Certeau went further and emphasized in his analysis the role that power and authority play in deciding what cultural tools must be employed in particular settings. Central to his theorizing on the issue is the idea that some groups are obligated to use cultural tools that belong to other more powerful groups. When looking at people using (consuming) tools, therefore, it is essential to analyze where they stand in relation to these tools--do they belong to an elite group using their own tools or are they members of a marginal group using someone else's tools? De Certeau goes on to distinguish between strategies and tactics of resistance. The basic differentiation hinges on the question of where the actions are being carried out. Strategies take place on isolated, safe territory, in the case of Turkish scholars, this might mean writing in Turkish venues, whereas tactics involve working on so-called enemy territory, for the Turks this could be interpreted as writing in North American journals. Both of these examples could be flavored with a greater sense of "resistance." A strategy of resistance might be seen in the actions of a frustrated scholar who decides to launch a Turkish IR journal. A tactic of resistance might be seen in the moves of scholars who locate US journals with a focus on the Middle East, and then use their "expert status" as Turks to improve their publication chances.

Of course, one might just as easily portray the latter example as less an instance of resistance than one of assimilating into the limited role that the dominant community

allows them to play. Lankshear (1994) warns of the opposite possibility that so-called 'strategies' may play into the hands of the powerful. This stems from his slightly different interpretation of the two terms. He refers to strategies as the "art of the strong", and therefore places established genres at the level of strategy. He sees tactics as "the art of the weak," and portrays their use as a creative and constructive subversion using everyday discourses. Thus, rather than focus on the territory on which the actions are carried out, he focuses on the nature of the genre used. If it is a dominant genre he classifies its use as a strategy, if a non-dominant one, its use becomes a tactic. Although I find Lankshear's interpretation very interesting, I will use my own understanding that I outlined above in subsequent chapters.

Constructing a Framework

The object of an activity system might be described as the "what it's all about" of the interacting agents. In the case of an academic discipline, the object might be literary works, historical events, or biological cells. The object is coupled with a purpose or motive shared among the agents, for example, analyzing the literary works, historical events, or cells. Russell (1997) writes that since individuals bring their own motives to a collective interaction, the motive will necessarily be contested, and dissensus, resistance, conflicts, and deep contradictions will always emerge. I agree with his overall assessment about the contentiousness of motive. However it seems that depending on how exactly one defines the activity under observation, the conflicts and contradictions may be more likely to occur in the area of action-associated goals.

In this study, for example, I define the activity as "being an IR scholar" or even more specifically, as "being a Turkish IR scholar." In this case, the general motive of this activity is to analyze relations between different countries. This consensual picture instantly breaks down at the level of actions, however, and arguably even more so at the level of operations. When I broadly divide the actions of an IR scholar into gaining and producing disciplinary knowledge through literacy practices and disseminating disciplinary knowledge through teaching, then the goals associated with each of these actions may obviously diverge tremendously between individuals. For example, in the general drive of producing disciplinary knowledge through literacy practices, we could find one Turkish IR scholar who is writing for tenure, another for money, and another for fame. We might find one who desires to become academically well known in the United States, another who seeks political recognition in Turkey. There may be one writer who writes merely to meet the minimum departmental publishing requirements, another who is striving to be the number one expert on a particular topic, and still another who has a passionate opinion about a certain topic and wants to make it known. Obviously, in attempting to meet these goals or a combination of them, these scholars will employ different tools or mediational means in different contexts.

While genre studies still must rely on some product as a focal unit of analysis, and may therefore turn at this point to the specific tools in question, the activity theory/ activity systems framework outlined earlier reminds us constantly to look at the different levels (activity, action, means) and the interactions between them and various contexts. Using an activity theory framework when looking at actions and tools helps us to understand two important points about genres: first, products that look the same may not

be the same genre if they are not operationalizing the same action, and things that are the same genre (i.e. operationalizing the same action) may not look alike. Take for example some actions-as-associated-with-goals like those I outlined earlier:

1) writing for popular recognition in Turkey

2) writing to meet minimum publishing requirements

3) writing to become academically recognized by the core IR discipline

4) writing to argue a point one feels strongly about

Then imagine some possible tools or mediational means:

a) a research article in English in a core IR theory journal

b) a research article in English in a lesser-known journal on "the list"

c) an editorial in a daily Turkish newspaper

d) a research article in a Turkish journal

What are the implications of attempting to achieve goal 1 by using tool A vs. tool C? How are the different goal/tool combinations reflected in the means of appropriation? What happens in the case of combinations of goals, for example, presumably all Turkish scholars have to achieve goal number 2, but what is the result if this goal is combined with a driving need for recognition (goal 1), or a powerful personal connection to a subject (goal 4), or a desire to be a strong academic (goal 3)? A scholar driven by goal 1 may find the restrictive requirements of goal 2 very frustrating, and therefore, while that scholar's use of tool C may be very easy and uncomplicated, attempts to use tools A or B might be full of tension and conflict.

Although these examples all focus on the production of text, examples could equally be made for the use of genres in another domain of literacy practices--reading.

The scholar who is driven by a desire for widespread name recognition in Turkey may consume the political editorials in the daily newspapers as catalysts for future pieces to write in response, while a less experienced but similarly driven scholar might use them as educational models of how to write in that genre. A third scholar with different goals may read them purely for entertainment purposes, without ever considering authoring similar works.

Of course we can not simply say that the differences in these scholars' goals are due to their personal goals and desires or lack thereof. As Engstrom (1987, 1993) argues, the process of appropriation is dialectical in the sense that individuals are pulled between the motives of the multiple activity systems within which they interact. Engstrom refers to these dialectical pulls as contradictions, and to the conflicts that individuals experience as psychological double binds. It seems evident that there is a need to go beyond an activity unit of analysis and understand activity/actions/operations in terms of the various activity systems in which they occur. The activity of being a Turkish IR scholar, in other words, is carried out by an individual operating within at least three activity systems: 1) the core IR discipline; 2) the Turkish IR discipline, including particular Turkish IR departments; and 3) Turkish society. The nested contexts (Maguire 1994) of each of these activity systems needs to be mapped out to understand the various incentives and restrictions it might place on an individual and to help in understanding an individual's resulting pattern of literacy practices (actions/goals) and means used to achieve them.

However using activity systems as the focal unit of analysis is not entirely unproblematic. The idea of activity 'systems' quite naturally leads one to use words such as "operating within...," which may run the risk of shifting both the researcher's and

reader's attention away from a conceptualization of a system/society as something that the individual mediates in his or her literacy choices, back to an idea of the system as a contextual structure that can explain them. Therefore, although I continue to talk generally about operating "within" certain activity systems when it seems necessary, I use a different term when I am referring specifically to the relationship between those systems (context) and the participants' literacy practices (text). In these cases I refer to the systems acting as "activity system filters", and, as shown in Figure 4, I place the agent and the text in positions that are separate from the systems.

Figure 4 -- Agents, texts, and the activity system filters they mediate
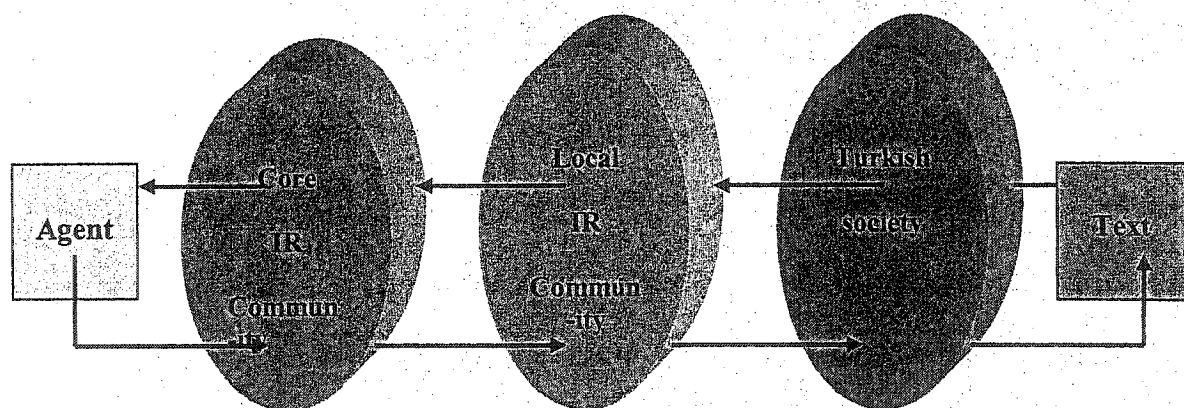
The systems are now more clearly seen to be acting as filters actually mediating the agent's production and reception of text, in other words, the agent's literacy practices. Rather than saying that contradictions or psychological double binds arise from individuals doing the same action but operating out of different activity systems (as

Russell 1997 does), I look at these conflicts as arising from the varying "thicknesses" of the filters being mediated in each individual's literacy practices. If we consider the usual function of a filter as being to block certain items but in general to allow a flowing through of something else, I use the idea of a "thick" filter to express a sense of blockage or in this case, conflict. With this image in mind, "thickness" may arise from one of two basic contradictions: one, the agent has a desire to participate in a certain activity system but does not have access to the required means to do so, or two, the agent is required to participate in a system but lacks either the means or personal desire to participate.

In other words, contradictions and tensions may arise when a particular filter is very thick for an individual (perhaps by choice due to personal aspirations, or as imposed by departmental requirements, etc.) but the means acceptable within that system filter are not easily accessible to the individual (due perhaps to personal factors such as lack of language skills or to power issues like gatekeeping and peer review systems.) In contrast, a filter is "thin" and does not present conflict when either a) the agent has both the desire and the means to participate, or b) the agent has no interest in participating in a particular system and is not required to participate in that system.

An individual's "personal aspirations" within a particular activity system filter could be considered in connection with the extent to which the individual aligns with the motive of that system filter, or sets his or her goals in relation to parts of a particular system filter. In essence then, recalling Bakhtin's discussion of ideological becoming, when we speak of an agent's selective choosing to participate in a particular activity system filter, it could be considered as a way of conceptualizing identity. Imagine, for example, a Turkish female IR scholar of Kurdish origins who, during her graduate studies

in the United States focused her research on human rights issues and ethnic insurgency movements. Upon returning to work in an IR department in Turkey, she may wish to participate in the "Turkish society filter," since it is the one most directly relevant to and affected by her research interests and thus would seem to best allow her to express her ethnic, political and perhaps gender identity. She may find, however, that attempts to use the means within that system, such as writing in Turkish journals and newspapers, may be to some degree inhibited by the state and by self-censorship. The Turkish society filter could therefore prove "thick," as this scholar struggles to negotiate the conflict arising from her desire to participate in a system in which the means are in a sense not accessible. To an outsider, the tools of another system filter, that of the core North American IR discipline may seem to provide a freer alternative to the scholar, but they may not be among her available array of mediational means because of personal reasons (discomfort/unfamiliarity with the requirements of that system) or restricted access. Clearly, this scholar's literacy practices are in a bind due to conflicts between her identity and her accessible mediational means.

To understand the various actions and operations/means, it is necessary to map out the actual filters. Mapping them out involves trying to figure out the different groups acting within the activity system, their interpretations of the activity's motives, the actions they require of the activity's participants, and the acceptable tools for meeting the actions' goals. After mapping out the system filters and their respective means, it is necessary to consider the thickness of these filters for each participant, as well as the specific pathway that he or she mediates through the filter. I examine these mappings in chapters four, five, and six.

Summary

In this chapter, I explored the principle concepts and theories underlying a social framework for understanding academic literacy practices. I drew on the Vygotskian concept of mediation and structural understandings of activity theory to set up the general framework for how I approach my inquiry into literacy practices. I then enrich this framework with a consideration of fundamental concepts from Bakhtinian dialogical theory, including in particular his understandings of speech genres and the appropriation of words as a form of ideological becoming. Finally, I construct a preliminary model based on the discussion in the chapter. The model is an attempt to emphasize the dynamism and recursiveness of the process by which agents mediate various contexts in the appropriation of literacy means. In the following chapter I explain in detail the particular methods of inquiry I used in the course of this study.

Chapter 3

Methods of Inquiry

I knew I wanted to become an academician. I was doing my masters, and
was planning to find a place to earn some money for this too. I was here to
interview a professor for a research project, and he said 'oh, we're going
to have an entrance exam', I said first I'll finish my masters, but he
introduced me to other profs and I just found myself sitting at the exam,
and I got it. I said OK... But I always knew I wanted to be an
academician. I thought about the UN, but reading and writing was much
more interesting to me so I gave upon the idea of the UN. Of course, I
would be happier if we had more money for this! (Sevda, interview,
February 9, 2001).

I started to be a diplomat. But in the later stages, say, in the middle of my
university education, I understood it was very difficult for us to enter the
foreign ministry because of some obstacles. I should confess that one of
the basic difficulties was my English. At the faculty, my English was not
very good. I attended some private English courses. Otherwise I could not
have passed the English courses. Those at the university were very
difficult. One was given by a New Zealander. He didn't know Turkish so
he only spoke English in the class. I was shocked! For about eight months
I went to private English courses. Then, having learned the basic English
grammar--my family was not very rich--I could not continue the course.
For one year, two years, then I had to stop. So I continued to improve my
English on my own. With my own capacity. Luckily, I started to pass the
exams. I became very successful in the exams. At the end of the 4th year I
realized that to enter the foreign ministry was very difficult. Secondly, I
didn't want to be a civil servant. If I didn't go to the foreign ministry, I
could have chosen to be a district mayor (*kaymakam*), but I dropped this
choice too. I had two choices: either I would go abroad and learn this
language and improve myself in terms of IR or I will work as a private
businessman. Get involved in business. My family had a small business.
He asked me to come and continue. I said that if I don't achieve this
objective to go abroad and improve myself, I could come to you. So
luckily I passed this *milli egitim* exam and went to England! (Ali,
interview, April 1, 2001).

These excerpts from my interview transcript data give the reader some initial impressions

of the people who are the focus of this inquiry. It is my intention in this thesis to allow

their voices to speak for themselves whenever possible. In order for readers to have a

better understanding of who these ten individuals are, I provide information in this chapter about their backgrounds and current professional contexts. I also explain in this chapter some of the choices I made when deciding how best to present the participants' voices. Finally, I provide details on the various research sites, tools of inquiry used and data collection procedures.

I have chosen to limit this chapter to these features, and to place my methodological discussion, including epistemological principles, my role as researcher, and gaining access to the participants, in chapter 1. I made this decision because I felt I had to make that information available to the reader as early as possible in this work.

The Participants

In chapters four, five, and six, I examine the cases of ten individual Turkish scholars of international relations. The ten scholars range in age from early 30s to late 60s, and in social background from the child of a civil servant to the child of a former ambassador and close friend of the founder of the Turkish Republic, Ataturk. At the opening of this dissertation I stated that these ten scholars have all made unique choices for themselves in terms of particular area(s) of expertise and ways of communicating ideas within those areas. In the following chapters, I aim to have these scholars present in their own words the choices they have made, and the reasons behind those choices. Through the series of interviews I conducted with them, I explore with them their views on the discipline of international relations and on their own literacy practices. In each case, I highlight the varying trajectories taken in the scholars' literacy practices as well as issues raised in connection with their chosen routes. Together with the study participants,

I attempt to reach a deeper understanding of the types of factors affecting these scholars' literacy choices and, through these, their resulting professional identities as international relations scholars.

In deciding how best to organize the presentation of the case studies, I faced various options. I considered grouping them according to the activity system(s) with which the scholars seemed most closely aligned, since the combinations of alignments seemed to present clear patterns. On the other hand, the rationales behind the various alignments varied dramatically, as did the degree and nature of conflicts that emerged between the scholars and the activity systems—in other words, the "thickness" of the filters. In presenting the cases, therefore, I chose instead to consider Lave and Wenger's (1991) work on situated learning, and in particular their concept of "legitimate peripheral participation." Lave and Wenger offer an understanding of how people become members of a professional community by actively participating in that community, rather than by simply being explicitly taught how to do so. Thus, participants are visualized as moving gradually from peripheral positions towards positions of greater mastery and eventual replacement of the community's "masters" (p. 29).

This use of the term 'periphery' should not be confused with my previous references in this dissertation to the 'core' and 'periphery' in international relations. Lave and Wenger's metaphor is an abstract one for describing a process of professional development and socialization towards a 'core' that does not in any real sense exist. In international relations, the distinction is a concrete one based on the geographical background and economic development level of a scholar's home country. In other words, a scholar from a 'developed', western country like the United States or Canada is

seen within the international relations disciplinary community as being a part of the core, while a scholar from a so-called 'developing' country such as Turkey, is a part of the periphery. In this distinction, there is no inherent sense of movement. For example, I do not use the terms core and periphery with a understanding that along with professional development, periphery scholars are in any way necessarily moving towards the core. However, this geographical aspect of Turkish scholars' identities may play a role in shaping the trajectory of their routes from peripheral participation towards 'mastery' in the disciplinary community of international relations scholars. The actual ways in which these scholars' personal backgrounds as Turks have influenced their professional development—as revealed in their academic literacy choices—is the focus of the next three chapters.

In considering Lave and Wenger's conceptualization of gradual participation from periphery towards core, it seemed useful to present the scholars in this study in a purely chronological manner. I start, therefore, with two newly "emergent" scholars (Casanave, 1998) who have only during the course of my study made the transition from being graduate students to being appointed as assistant professors in the department of international relations at a certain English-medium private university. I then look at four "experienced" scholars, who have been actively teaching and researching for between three to ten years, and are currently at the position of associate professor. While one of these scholars has spent her entire career at English-medium private universities, the remaining three are employed at Turkish-medium state universities. Finally, I present cases of scholars who can be considered as "established." This group is made up of four full professors who have been working professionally for more than ten years. Three of

these professors have worked consistently at English-medium institutions in the state university system, while the fourth switched in 1988 to working in an English-medium private university and has remained there since.

In addition to the differences in the participants' employment contexts between state and private institutions and the language of instruction at these schools, the scholars vary as well in terms of their own training in international relations. All 10 scholars have had some amount of university level disciplinary education outside of Turkey. In most cases, this foreign study consisted of completing both an M.A. and Ph.D. abroad, though one scholar completed only her Ph.D. abroad, and another completed part of her undergraduate studies abroad. With one exception, all of these educational experiences were at English medium universities in either the United Kingdom or the United States. Two final differences that can be seen between the participants are, first, whether their foreign studies were self-financed or paid for by scholarships, and second, at what educational level they first began studying English. These differences reflect a great deal about the personal background of each scholar. As a general rule, the earlier that someone in Turkey begins studying English, the higher the socio-economic level of their family. Such clues to the participants' backgrounds therefore become important issues as I discuss the cases in the following chapters.

Table 3 presents a summary of the study participants' backgrounds. I have chosen throughout this study to use pseudonyms, although, as the participants themselves are aware, the limited total number of Turkish IR scholars makes it difficult for me to insure their complete anonymity. As discussed in earlier therefore, I have made certain efforts such as using pseudonyms and not explicitly stating details about their places of

employment or study, in order to contribute to a degree of anonymity. The pseudonyms

are all common Turkish first names. In order to make this work easier to read for people

unfamiliar with Turkish, I have chosen to use short names containing only Roman letters

of the Turkish alphabet, in other words, not including the letters ş, ğ, ü, ö, ı, or ç. I have

also avoided letters that are common in both alphabets but which are pronounced

differently, such as 'c' or 'j'.

Table 3. Study participants

Name	Sex	Current teaching context	Degrees studied for abroad	Ph.D. completed in	English education begun in	Current title
Tolga	M	Private/ English	MA, Ph.D* N. America	2002	Graduate	Assistant Professor
Ebru	F	Private/ English	Ph.D.* England	2001	Undergrad	Assistant Professor
Sevda	F	State/ Turkish	B.A. N. America	1996	Primary school	Associate Professor
Fatih	M	State/ Turkish	M.A./Ph.D.* England	1995	Graduate	Associate Professor
Ali	M	State/ Turkish	MA/Ph.D* England	1994	Graduate	Associate Professor
Deniz	F	Private/ English	M.A, PhD N. America	1992	Middle School	Associate Professor
Metin	M	State/ English	MA/ Ph.D Europe	1986	Middle School	Professor
Nihat	M	State/ English	MA, Ph.D N. America	1985	Graduate	Professor
Levent	M	State/ English	MA/Ph.D* N. America	1978	Undergrad	Professor
Mehmet	M	Private/ English	MA/Ph.D Europe	1970	Middle school	Professor

Note: An asterisk * indicates that the scholar studied abroad on a scholarship.

Tools of Inquiry

My personal experiences have convinced me of the value of extended observation in order to be able to more richly interpret the data we collect as researchers. To achieve my research goal of understanding the complex interplay of contextual factors and this group of scholars' literacy practices, I drew on my past experiences and appreciated the need for an ethnographic approach, which would include extended observations of the contexts in which the practices have meanings. Observation alone, however, was clearly insufficient when investigating literacy practices. Literacy practices contain two dimensions: what is being done and how the participants understand, attach value to, and construct ideologies to what is being done (Baynham, 1995). Thus, gathering evidence on literacy practices must address both of these dimensions. I attempted to address these two dimensions by employing three methods of data collection: observation, autobiographical accounts of the participants' literacy practices (interviews), and text analysis. In choosing this combination of tools of inquiry, I was also following the specific research strategies and criteria outlined by Denizin and Lincoln (2001) to achieve credibility and dependability.

Sites of participant observation

To achieve credibility, Denizin and Lincoln (2001) list strategies of prolonged field engagement, persistent observation, and triangulation. My prolonged engagement with the International Relations disciplinary community and the field research I undertook, allowed me to take on various participant observer roles in a variety of research sites (summarized in Table 4). These sites were mainly IR departments at

universities in North America and Turkey. As I describe below in greater detail, the IR

departments with which I was most closely connected were those at the George

Washington University in Washington, DC (the Elliott School of International Affairs),

McGill University in Montreal (where IR is a sub-section of the Political Science

Department), Middle East Technical University in Ankara, Turkey, and Bilkent

University in Ankara. In addition to these four departments, I also visited and collected

data from the IR departments of the following Turkish universities in Ankara: Ankara,

Gazi, Atilim, Baskent, and Haceteppe; in Istanbul: Sabanci, Koc, Bosphorous, Bilgi, and

Marmara; and Dokuz Eylul in Izmir. I also made extensive use of the services provided

by the Turkish High Education Council (YOK), which is located just next to Bilkent

University in Ankara.

Table 4. Times, places, and types of observation

Time	Place	Type
1994 – present	North America, Turkey	Observation of my husband's socialization into the discipline
Fall 1999	McGill University, Montreal	Student in graduate IR seminar
November 1999	Costa Rica, Third World Studies conference	Presented paper
November 1999	Washington, Middle Eastern Studies conference	Presented paper
March 2000	Los Angeles, International Studies Assoc. conference	Presented paper
Sept. 2000 – June 2001	Ankara, Middle East Technical U. IR dept.	Taught two EAP courses
Oct. 2001 – June 2002	Ankara	Co-organized international IR conference
March 2003 – present	Bilkent University	Assisting EAP coordinators in improving relations with IR faculty

The other sites I used for observation and data collection were three IR conference venues, where I presented papers and attended panel sessions. The Third World Studies conference, held in 1999 in San Jose, Costa Rica, was a moderately large conference, with approximately 400 participants, focusing on the international relations of periphery states. The Middle Eastern Studies Association conference, held in 1999 in Washington DC, is a large annual gathering of more than 1,000 participants. The conference covers all aspects of research on the Middle East, including IR, history, education, and art. Finally, the International Studies Association conference, held in 2000 in Los Angeles, is the largest IR conference in North America annually. In 2000, there were approximately 5,000 participants, and five full days of panels.

In the broadest sense, I began observing the disciplinary community of IR in January 1994, when my husband began his M.A. at the Elliot School of International Affairs, at the George Washington University. I have become familiar with the research agendas, literature, and discourse of the IR discipline by sharing in my husband's socialization process into the discipline of IR over the last nine years. In going through this process with him we have exchanged ideas about his relationship with the discipline, such as his dismay when, early in his M.A., he noticed that his professors often dismissed examples provided from developing world contexts as being 'irrelevant.' Later we shared his gradual realization that the dominant theoretical literature in IR generally reflected this understanding that developing world states, or 'small states,' were inconsequential. In recent years, I have closely observed my husband's shift from graduate student to assistant professor. At the simplest level, for example, I have seen this shift reflected in his change from calling his instructors "professor", to calling them by their first names.

Alongside my husband, I have experienced my most revealing, rich, and extensive engagement with the IR discipline and its members. Without these years of close and personal observation of what it is actually like to be an IR scholar, I could not have approached this study with the depth of understanding, and confidence, that I did.

I became a more direct participant in the discipline of IR, as a student in a graduate International Relations seminar, and as a presenter of papers at International Relations conferences. While completing my own Ph.D. coursework at McGill University, my advisor recommended that I enroll in a course in the IR department. The class I selected was a graduate seminar intended for graduate students preparing thesis proposals. In the IR seminar I was required to complete regular reading and writing assignments. These included readings on research in the social sciences, preparing drafts of different sized versions of my dissertation proposal, and reading and critiquing other students' proposals. The assignments also included regular readings of current works in the IR literature. These were often works-in-progress by scholars who would come present their pieces to our class as part of a guest lecture series. We were asked to participate in these lectures by providing critically constructive feedback on their works.

While enrolled in the class and during the following semester, I presented papers at three different IR conferences: two relatively smaller ones focusing on the particular regions of the developing world and the Middle East; and the annual International Studies Association conference, which brings together thousands of IR scholars each year. These conferences were important in my own socialization as a graduate student since they were the first conferences at which I presented aspects of my research from my M.A. thesis. As important, I gained at these events first-hand exposure to IR conferences. I

took away snapshot images of who IR scholars are, how they relate to one another professionally in conference contexts, and where some of their disciplinary interests lay. For example, I gained an impression of IR scholars that largely matched the description made by one IR professor: "I represent the general profile of the International Relations theory scholar—white, male, and American" (Mathews, 1999c: 9). In observing the conference participants' heated interactions during panel discussions and roundtables, I also got a sense that IR discourse could often be considered fairly aggressive. The participants showed little hesitancy to offer forthright and sharp criticisms of each others' ideas.

My most intense observations of an IR conference were made in the period of October 2001 to June 2002, when I assisted my husband in organizing an international conference in Ankara on globalization and security. In the organization process, I was integrally involved in determining the theoretical organization of the conference, selecting the scholars to be invited, and communicating regularly with these scholars about everything from the focus of their papers to the details of their diets. I also attended the actual conference, and am now involved in the editing of a resulting volume of papers. It was via this conference more than any other single event, that I became personally acquainted with several leading IR scholars from North America, such as James Rosenau and Mohammed Ayoob, and from Europe, such as Barry Buzan, Ken Booth, Ole Waever, and Georg Sorensen.

I have also been a participant observer when I have observed the workings of International Relations departments in various Turkish universities. During the 2000-2001 academic year I was particularly immersed in the IR department of Middle East

Technical University, as I was employed by the department to teach two courses in English for Academic Purposes. I met frequently with individual faculty members in order to get information on the types of writing and reading tasks they were asking of their students, so that I could support their efforts in my English class. I thus gained a very good knowledge of the type of academic literacy practices that were being required of undergraduate IR students at one English-medium university in Turkey.

I also visited other IR departments in Ankara (Bilkent, Gazi, Ankara, Attilim, Baskent, and Haceteppe Universities), in Istanbul (Bosphorous, Sabanci, Bilgi, Koc, and Marmara Universities), and in Izmir (Dokuz Eylul). On these visits I collected departmental brochures and handouts that allowed me to compare differences in the types of IR courses they offered, and in the profiles of the faculty, such as whether they are foreign or Turkish, what are their areas of specialization, and what types of publications they have. When possible on these visits, I also tried to meet and talk informally with different faculty members. Overall, from these visits I was able to get a general picture of IR departments in Turkish universities, including the required curricula, the faculty, and the students. One interesting piece of information about the students, which I gained from such visits, for example, concerned their employment expectations after graduation. I learned that only a small fraction of students who earn undergraduate degrees in IR join the Turkish foreign service. Equally small numbers go on to graduate studies in the field, the media, or other public administration departments, such as district governorships. The majority of IR students who go on to employment seem to be finding work in the banking sector.

My most recent observations of a particular IR department have taken place at Bilkent University, and began when I sat in on a meeting held between IR faculty and English instructors in the university's English for Academic Purposes (EAP) program. Bilkent University's EAP writing program provides special supplemental courses for particular departments, such as economics, engineering, English Literature, and IR. These courses are intended to help the students with general academic writing skills. They do so by using content-based syllabi that are purposefully different from the students' own courses of study. For example, engineering students may have a course with a political topic and IR students may have one with a focus on philosophy or literature. The rationale for this curriculum is that the students will be exposed to their own disciplinary content for many years, so these early EAP courses are an opportunity both to improve their language skills and to broaden their exposure to various fields.

The meeting I attended between the content course IR faculty and the writing faculty was a clear example of some of the program's current problems. Despite good advertising for the meeting, only four of the more than 20 IR faculty members came. This number might even have been smaller had my husband not taken an interest because of my research, and asked two other young faculty members to go with him. I sensed immediate tension in the meeting room, as the EAP instructors were clearly disappointed at the low turnout, and the IR teachers seemed to be mainly looking for a place to lay blame for their students' writing problems. Following a brief presentation by the coordinator of the EAP section for IR, there was an open discussion. The IR professors were critical of the EAP program's format, arguing that the students were barely able to grasp IR content in depth, and thus could not be expected to simultaneously learn

unfamiliar content and academic writing skills. The writing teachers complained that the IR faculty were shying away from the whole issue by failing to assign any writing tasks beyond short essay exam questions. The discussion focused on the relative benefits and disadvantages of the current program, but concluded that it could not be changed because it was the idea of the rector himself. The two groups left the meeting with a common feeling of dissatisfaction.

I felt that even in the face of curricular requirements, such as not using IR content in the IR students' writing classes, the program would certainly benefit from greater communication between the writing teachers and the IR faculty. I have therefore encouraged my husband to talk with the writing teachers about how they coordinate writing assignments. Even if their topics are different, the genre of the assignments can be matched so as to provide support for one another. I will also meet with the EAP instructors before the fall 2003 semester begins, to discuss additional ways that they might work more effectively with the IR faculty. It seems that my sympathy and understanding of the EAP coordinators' goals and my familiarity with the IR instructors' teaching habits may help me serve as a go-between for these two groups.

To achieve confirmability (Denzin and Lincoln, 2001) in my investigation, I compiled an "audit trail" of these observations, in the form of field notes. In compiling my notes I divided them into four categories: observation notes, methodological notes, theoretical notes, and personal notes (Richardson, 1994). The observation notes consisted of the concrete observations I had when undertaking my field research--for example, what were the actual working conditions like for my participants? Did the offices have a computer with internet access? What disciplinary journals were carried in

the library? Methodological notes were the technical notes I made on how I would collect the data. These included my contact list, telephone numbers, schedules for arranged interviews, comments on other potential participants, and ideas for questions to ask during interviews. A sample of my observation and methodological field notes, which I have typed and included in Figure 5, are from the first interview I had with one of my participants. The sample begins with methodological notes about how to find the professor's office, her telephone number, and the scheduled time of our meeting. These are followed by some of my observation notes from that afternoon, including my descriptions of the department, the professor's office, and the university library.

Figure 5. Samples of observation and methodological field notes

Friday, February 9, 2001
Interview with XX at 2:00pm
YY University -- get off the bus by the fountain, go to the Nizamiye, new building in back, 2nd floor, office #224
Tel. 221-21-08

Notes on interview
- new building but already looks 'well used'. It was cold (heat working?)
- no computer in office, no computer room or printer room around. Couldn't see secretary's/main IR office—are there facilities there?
- No one else around at 1:30 on Friday. Where is everyone?
- Library pretty limited. Saw main Turkish journals, couldn't find any in English, though apparently somewhere they have Foreign Affairs. NOISY because of construction next door.

Theoretical notes were conversations with myself, in which I speculated about the meanings of things that I had seen or heard, or even about things that I had said and done. Finally, personal notes were the uncensored writings I made on my feelings about the participants and the on-going research process. Figure 6 includes samples of theoretical and personal field notes. After I had begun conducting interviews, I found it useful to

keep a separate journal for theoretical notes. Usually I wrote these notes while reading (or

re-reading) journal articles or books, since the literature often provoked questions or

thoughts in me about what I had observed or heard during my data collection. The sample

of personal notes shown in Figure 6 date from when I first began interviewing

participants. They express my earliest thoughts as I came to recognize the possible effect

my appearance might have on setting the mood of the interview.

Figure 6. Samples of theoretical and personal field notes

Ivanic sees writing as a site of struggle in which Ws are negotiating identity (332) and
explores the subject positions W choose to occupy or resist. I saw NO resistance against
the core her. Not even a trace. I saw only wholehearted embracing of core values and
standards and a devaluing of local ones. So while there are definite conflicts, a critical
approach seems inappropriate. I suspect this could be different, say, in Western Europe. It
may relate to societal self-image (Turks' low self-esteem in a sense), Western is better.

Personal notes July 6, 1999
This second interview with XX was better than the other one. I wonder if it had anything
to do with what I was wearing? Consider wearing dress again! (XX seemed to take me
more seriously than YY did)

Using these different types of notes allowed me to be organized in my research process

and also to maintain a fresh view of what I have experienced/observed--even when

writing up accounts of interviews that had occurred six months earlier.

Interviews

Interviews provided the first and most direct method of gathering data on how my

participants understood and attached values to their literacy practices and those of the

International Relations community at large. These interviews took on the form of

extended conversations about a series of topics, such as the participants' education

backgrounds, views about the discipline of IR, or particular areas of specialization in the field:

> Fatih: When I started teaching IR theory, and when I wrote that paper, let me tell you what happened in my *docentlik sinavi*. I wrote only one paper in IR theory.
> Julie: Was it published in Turkey?
> Fatih: At the faculty of political science, Ankara university (*pulls out a copy from drawer*)
> Julie: it's more than a paper...
> Fatih: it's a huge paper,
> Julie: almost a monograph.
> Fatih: in Turkey if you have something more than 50 pages, it's a book.
> Julie: so it's almost a book...
> Fatih: Almost a book! (*laughs*) Anyway, that was the only thing I wrote about IR theory when I went to take my sinav. I had many other things, Turkish foreign policy, Central Asia, but whole of my oral exam was about--there were five guys, all well known (names them)—the discussion of my work was all on theory. Also I had two articles on Turkish foreign policy...trying to develop a framework for Turkish foreign policy analysis...but no, what they recommended was to continue working on theory. And I told them, yes, this is what I like, but why you haven't done it yet I asked them? The reason, the same reason is for me. There is no market. By saying market I don't mean money. There is no readership to do theoretical work in Turkish. There is no problem to publish. Maybe in those days I couldn't, but now I can publish. But who's going to read it? If there's no IR community that is going to read it, and discuss it, and write similar things, there is no meaning in writing such things. And of course there is no market in financial terms either. No one is going to invite you to talk about that. So I told them that, they said, yeh, we know, but you do it good, you should continue to do it more and that kind of stuff. That's still the problem in Turkey (interview with Fatih, March 29, 2001).

These conversations allowed me first to gain an in-depth understanding of who my participants were, and therefore included questions on such topics as: their personal/family backgrounds, their views of Turkey, Turkish International Relations scholarship and Turks in core International Relations scholarship. I also considered their views of English as a world language, their reasons for choosing to study International Relations, their theoretical positioning in International Relations, their activities within

the community such as conference attendance or organizing, and their long-term professional goals.

The conversations also allowed me to look at the participants' backgrounds, their knowledge of English and of the International Relations discipline, and their views of power relationships within the disciplinary community. Thus they included questions on their disciplinary training (where, for how long, focusing on what), and their English language background (in terms of both classroom training as well as exposure in non-academic environments). These questions also explored the participants' experiences and understanding of industry mechanisms and economic factors (what financial and technological sources do they have for their research, their departmental publishing requirements, literacy requirements they made of their own students, and how they felt about such things as the peer review system or the accessibility of the North American and European International Relations communities for publishing and conferences).

Turning to their specific literacy practices, I then looked at the "hows, whats, whens, wheres, and whys" of their reading and writing in International Relations, how and if these had changed, and what factors were involved in any changes. These questions revolved around five main areas: 1) their specific reading and writing strategies (the "hows", e.g. did they contextualize, corroborate, and use sourcing when reading, did they as graduate students, who and how much did they cite, what languages did they write in); 2) the contexts of their literacy practices (the "whens" and "wheres", e.g. where did they submit their works, did they write articles, book chapters, etc., what journals did they read, did they subscribe, read on-line, etc.); 3) topics (the "whats", e.g. what did they write about and did it differ according to language, how did they choose new topics, was

their Ph.D. topic related to Turkey); 4) motivation/investment (the internal "whys", e.g. current or future writing projects, did they enjoy writing more on certain topics or in certain languages but feel pressured towards others); and 5) purposes/consequences (the external "whys", e.g. reading/writing patterns during and after graduate school, Turkish departmental publishing requirements).

I also considered their literacy background outside of International Relations, since in their academic literacy practices they draw intertextually on both International Relations discourse and on the discourse(s) they bring with themselves to the field. Our conversations included discussions, therefore, of their reading and writing outside of work as well—which newspapers and magazines did they read? Did they read novels? Did they read in English or in Turkish? What did they read as children, what did they write outside of work—letters? Poems? These discussions all lent further insight into an understanding of these scholars' identities, and were therefore integral to an understanding of their academic literacy practices.

The series of conversations took place over a period of between two to four years (for exact dates, see Table 5), with each audio-taped conversation lasting between one and two hours. Without exception, I arranged to meet with the participants in their offices at the universities where they worked. Not shown on Table 4 are a series of communications with the participants via email, telephone or in person, in which I asked for their comments on or confirmation of how I was reporting their cases in this work. Figure 7, for example, is an excerpt from one of my email exchanges with Tolga, in which I checked with him about whether I could report a particular quote from him.

Table 5. Schedule of interview dates

Name	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Tolga		November 18		June 21 and December 14	
Ebru			March 12	December 12	March 15
Sevda			February 9	October 20	
Fatih			March 29	November 15	
Ali			April 1	November 7	
Deniz			March 2	December 2	
Metin	July 2	November 1		October 23	
Nihat	July 6	November 6		October 26	
Levent	July 6	October 30		November 22	
Mehmet			March 1	November 22	

Figure 7. Sample of extra communication with participants for confirmation

<u>Jan. 12 2003</u>

I am still in the process of writing up my dissertation. I have a couple more things I'd like to run past you and see whether you're OK with how I'm reporting them. I also want to ask you particularly whether you mind if I quote you saying something negative about the XXX administration, since I believe you still have some informal ties with them(?) The quote I had in mind is this: "there is a lot of money at this place. I wonder if [names holding company] knows what is happening to all their money, do they know how badly it's being spent? And the people working there get more interested in seeing how they can maximize their benefits than in producing nice scholarship."

<u>Tolga's response to this particular question:</u>

The quote is OK. I haven't been secret in my thoughts about this. But I prefer if you don't write in detail about my current ties with XXX.

<u>Text Analysis</u>

Both Ivanic and Street caution against drifting too far away from the text in discussions of literacy, and in doing so clearly reveal the linguistic-based "discourse" approach they generally adhere to in their research. Ivanic, for example, states that one

of her aims is to make a "specifically linguistic contribution to thinking in the social sciences about discourse and identity" (p. 18). I did not take such a linguistic approach in my research, but I definitely saw the importance in incorporating a textual element or "stance" (Beach, 1992) in my collection and analysis methods.

I addressed this textual stance in part through the interviews, for example, by asking participants about whose writing they admired and why, or by asking about a particular literacy event such as their thesis. How, for example, did they chose the topic of their thesis, or how were they influenced by their advisor in this choice. I also asked about what they were reading/writing at the time, what they had read/written most recently, and what they intended to read/write next.

To explore my participants' understandings of genre conventions required more, however, than just their declarative knowledge. I also needed to find ways of trying to uncover what they were doing in their literacy practices without directly asking. By looking at their published works, I was able to gain further understandings. First, I compiled lists of everything they had published in any language, and in every genre. By looking at this picture of their publishing history I was able to identify patterns in four specific areas: 1) the overall amount that they were publishing; 2) the genres they were using; 3) the topics they were writing on; and 4) the language they were writing in. I could also see whether there had been any changes in these patterns over the years, for example, a shift from writing in Turkish to writing in English, a move from publishing heavily to sparingly, or a move from focusing on certain particular topics or genres to others. I was then able to follow up on these shifts in the interviews, and ask for their explanations of why they had occurred. I also asked the participants whether they felt that

their publishing record reflected where they used to imagine that they would be in the discipline, and what areas they felt were not represented in their publishing record.

In attempting to understand the types of choices these scholars were making in their literacy practices, exploring these general patterns in combination with the data from the interviews and my own observations, proved to be of greater relevance than a more formal analysis of the linguistic features (e.g. clause structure or lexis) in the scholars' texts. In addition to this type of textual analysis of the scholars' published works, I also collected various documentary evidence from the professors, their departments, and the Turkish High Education Council. In Table 6, I summarize all the various types of textual and documentary information collected.

Table 6. Documentary evidence and textual analysis

Collected from the participants

- CVs
- Course syllabi
- Published articles, books, reports, chapters, etc.
    These were analyzed on the basis of:
      - their number (how many)
      - their genre (article, book chapter, policy report, etc.)
      - their topic (Turkish foreign policy, area studies, theory, etc.)
      - their language (Turkish, English, some other foreign language)

Collected from IR departments in Turkey
- department course offerings - department requirements from students - department requirements from faculty (publishing, administrative, teaching)
Collected from the Turkish High Education Council
- general information about primary/high school education in Turkey - general information about undergraduate education in Turkey - information about the university entrance exam - statistics about IR programs/faculty in Turkey - information on assistant/associate/professor promotion laws and requirements

Summary

In this chapter I have outlined the basic methods of my inquiry into the literacy practices of Turkish scholars working in the field of international relations. In order to explore the participants' own understandings of their literacy practices, my inquiry relied heavily on the scholars' self-reports, collected in a series of taped interviews. The data from these interviews were supplemented by textual data. These textual data were files I compiled of the participants' complete publications, and summaries of these works, noting such things as their genre, topic, language, and overall number. Equally important to the actual collection of data from the participants, I explained in this chapter how my extended engagement with the IR disciplinary community in a variety of observer roles has played an important role in how I view the field of IR and, subsequently, how I interpreted the data I collected.

In this chapter I provided descriptions of the ten participants who are the focus of this study. These descriptions explain certain differentiating factors between the scholars, such as their current teaching contexts, their training abroad in IR, the extent of their English language training, and the number of years they have been active as IR scholars. In chapter 4, I present the cases of the two youngest scholars and in chapter 5 the cases of four scholars with up to 10 years of teaching experience. In chapter 6 I present the cases of four full professors of IR with more than 10 years of teaching experience in IR. In the following three chapters I lead off each participants' section with a title that I believe captures a crucial element of that person's academic literacy practices. In some cases the title is a reference to the content of their literacy practices (e.g. the policy maker), in others to the way in which they handle their literacy practices (e.g. the juggler), and in

others to their overall expressed satisfaction with the outcomes of their literacy practices

(e.g. the semi-contented).

Chapter 4

The academic literacy practices of jugglers and idealists

Julie: Has it ever affected you, or could you ever foresee it affecting you, for example, this dream project, turning your dissertation into a book, would you ever postpone that in order to whip off a few index journal articles so that you could get your raise or promotion?
Ebru: I mean, last year I just had to get one publication out as an instructor to become a professor, so I gave priority to that. But it wasn't like I could have done anything else, I was just too exhausted. I had just finished the Ph.D. and I was not ready to do anything. Now I feel more ready to start a project, and I may try to do both at the same time. On the one hand I may find that it's not doable, on the other hand, I can't really decide which one should come first, so I will probably try to do both at the same time. Or maybe I'll try to go for small-scale journals that have high turnout rather than go for the *Review of International Studies,* and try to work on the book…If I get a book contract then I will give priority to the book contract absolutely (interview with Ebru, March 12, 2001)

I don't know who I am now, but I know what I want to be. I want to be a scholar with an identity of being intellectual. I also want to influence policy making in this country…Then there is my job. I have to show nice scholarship, and I have to do nice teaching…I want to do it all, but I should call myself very lucky if I can do 50% of it (Tolga, interview, December 14, 2002).

Emergent Scholars

In this chapter I explore in depth the experiences of the study's two youngest participants, Tolga and Ebru, and various issues that emerge from a discussion of their cases. I use the term 'emergent' scholars to describe individuals who have recently finished their Ph.D. dissertations and begun teaching full-time in IR departments. I see this stage in an academic's socialization process as a particularly difficult one. Although Lave and Wenger (1991) would rightly describe the process of becoming an IR scholar as an ongoing one with no clear final destination, the leap in title from 'graduate student' to 'assistant professor' marks the passing of a clear boundary. Crossing that boundary

means that the individual has new responsibilities, such as designing syllabi, attending faculty meetings, and counseling students. The individual also gains new stature, probably accompanied by a new office, a real paycheck, but also by a clear mark of having the low seniority in the department. Crossing the boundary also brings new expectations in terms of literacy practices. Emergent scholars may no longer have to write exams or class assignments, but they probably now have to correct them. They may, like Ebru in the above interview excerpt, also be feeling pressure to publish all or parts of their Ph.D. dissertation. Crossing the boundary entails so many significant changes that it might be more useful to consider the emergent scholar as having left the community of IR students and having become a newcomer in an entirely new community of practice: that of the IR scholar.

As newcomers, emergent scholars are undertaking a process of learning about their new responsibilities and stature. At the same time they are trying to define for themselves and their fellow members where and how they will fit into this community. One possible source of tension during this process may arise as they explore new relationships with their fellow members. These members may be the same individuals who just previously were their professors, and with whom they had clear hierarchical positions of student/teacher. As newcomers, that hierarchy becomes somewhat blurred, between, for example, associate and assistant professors. The possibility for tension or competition seems very possible. More experienced community members, as Lave and Wenger (1991) point out, may feel threatened by the incoming presence of newcomers, whose ultimate role is to replace them.

Emergent scholars may feel very vulnerable during these early years. First, they may be unsure about exactly what they have to be doing and how to do it. Full-time teaching responsibilities are likely to be a challenge for them. They may be dismayed at the amount of extra responsibilities they have outside of actual teaching, such as advising students, completing administrative paperwork, or sitting on various departmental committees. Moreover, emergent scholars are generally struggling—often by way of their literacy practices—to 'make a name' for themselves in the community. While learning the ways of behavior in a new community, newcomers need to negotiate between each other and with the older members to identify and claim their particular roles and professional identities within that community. Thus, emergent scholars are making choices that will make it possible in future years for other community members to speak of them as, "that's so-and-so, she focuses on security studies" or "he does International Political Economy."

In Tolga and Ebru, I see evidence of all these tensions and worries. Tolga strikes me as an ambitious young individual, who is attempting to juggle all of the 'balls' that currently constitute his actions as an IR scholar. These actions include his new and unfamiliar responsibilities of teaching and taking on administrative duties, as well as his attempts to publish locally and abroad and to influence governmental policy formulation. Tolga is well aware of the precariousness of keeping all these 'balls' aloft, but is not yet willing or able to choose which to set aside. Thus I have given him the name of the juggler. Ebru is an equally ambitious young scholar, but one with a more clearly defined and limited image of who she wants to be in the local and international IR communities: a serious academic. She has carefully built up this image ever since her early entry into the

discipline. At the same time, her long-standing image of herself as an IR scholar participating in appropriately scholarly activities sometimes clashes with the realities of academic life in her institution, and causes her great disappointment and concern. I have therefore, given her the title of the "idealist."

The Juggler

> I have to show nice scholarship, and I have to do nice teaching...But I have to show that I can make a difference with my scholarship and contribute to the development of this country. This is a dilemma for scholars of the developing world, how are you going to do it all? (Tolga, interview, December 14, 2002).

The first case presented here is that of Tolga, who also happens to be the newest of the participants to be appointed to a faculty position in a Turkish university. At the start of my study, he was still working on his Ph.D. dissertation and teaching part-time at both a leading state and a leading private university in Turkey. Before our final interview he successfully defended his dissertation at an American university, and received a full-time position (the virtual equivalent of tenure) at the private university where he had been teaching part-time for the previous two semesters.

Tolga grew up in a small city in the central region of Turkey, where he attended primary and middle school. At age 15, he passed an exam that allowed him to enter a special military high school for students who will become air force officers. Upon graduation he enrolled in the Air War College (similar to the Air Force Academy in the United States), where he studied a set B.A. program in such areas as aeronautics, administrative sciences, and international law. At the same time that he was attending the Air War College he decided to also try and attend a "civilian," or regular state university.

His reasons for wanting to do this, as well as his ultimate choice of international relations as a subject of study, were based more on personal and pragmatic factors than on a specific wish to study IR. As he recalls in this interview excerpt:

> It was forbidden for us to attend regular civilian universities, but me and a couple of friends decided we would do it anyway. I know for me, I wanted to see what they were teaching in the regular system, but there were also other reasons...I don't know...girls maybe! (laughs). Anyway, I suppose IR sounded interesting, but it was also practical because that department in my university was located the closest to our College. Since it was forbidden to go, I would have to sneak out the back of the college, and then it was only a short taxi ride to the university. I used to change my uniform in the back seat of the taxi! Another reason I chose IR was because I had the points to get in (Tolga, interview, November 18, 2000).

After successfully and simultaneously graduating with B.A. degrees from both the Air War College and the state university, Tolga served for three years as an officer in the Turkish Air Force. He then applied for and received a full scholarship from the Higher Education Council to complete his graduate studies abroad. He resigned from the Air Force, and moved to the United States, where he spent the next seven years doing his M.A. and Ph.D. in international relations at a leading private university in Boston. Before returning to Turkey, he spent nearly a year working as a research fellow in a policy think-tank in Washington, D.C. Upon returning to Turkey, he spent a brief period working at a second think-tank while at the same time teaching adjunct courses at different universities.

Tolga's list of published works is impressive for such a young scholar. Unlike the other participants, Tolga began publishing his work long before he finished his Ph.D. As a graduate student in the United States, he made a point of presenting papers at as many conferences as he could because, as he argues, "I knew I wouldn't be able to easily go the States from Turkey, so I wanted to learn as much as I could about different conferences

while it was still easier for me to go." Ten of the papers from these conferences were

published in conference proceedings or in journals, and of these, two were published in

refereed journals. The topics of these various pieces were evenly divided between works

related in some way to Turkey (for example, a case study of Turkey's role in a particular

economic cooperation project and the implications of this experience for alliance building

theories), and those not related to Turkey but rather to more abstract "theorizing" (for

example, a piece on revising civil-military relations in the democratizing world context).

During his second year back in Turkey, as he was finishing his dissertation, Tolga

also produced a number of articles, four of which were published in Social Science

Citation Index journals, and four of which were published by the think-tanks in which he

had previously worked part-time. Think-tanks such as those where Tolga worked, are

basically research centers set up for the purpose of providing policy advice on

international relations topics to government institutions. They are generally financially

supported by a particular government or interest group, and are sometimes identified as

such. For example, in the United States the Cato Institute is identified as a 'conservative'

think-tank, while the Russell Sage Institute is openly more liberal. Other think-tanks are

less transparent about their financial sources and possible ideological leanings. The well-

known RAND corporation, for example, does not widely advertise the fact that it receives

significant funding from the Central Intelligence Agency. Because of the question of

support and also because think-tanks are by nature designed to produce rapid analyses

upon which immediate policy decisions can be based, the quality of the scholarship

produced in these institutions is often looked down on by 'real' international relations

scholars. The latter group argues that research and analysis should be less bound to an

immediate problem in international affairs and should attempt to seek broader

understandings of patterns of behavior, rather than instant solutions.

Both of the think-tank institutions at which Tolga worked were clearly financed

by distinct groups (the American one by the Israeli government and the Turkish one by a

religiously conservative business holding). Tolga says, however, that he was never

pressured directly to alter his analyses to match any particular ideology. His complaints

about the two think-tanks were more often restricted to their poor management, in

particular that of the Turkish think-tank:

> There is a lot of money at this place—I wonder if [names holding
> company] knows what is happening to all their money, do they know how
> badly it's being spent? And the people working there get more interested
> in seeing how they can maximize their benefits than in producing nice
> scholarship (Tolga, interview, November 18, 2000).

On two occasions not long after first agreeing to be a participant, Tolga remarked to me

that he "didn't belong" at the think-tank. Sometime later, he turned down a very generous

offer to begin working at the think-tank full-time, and accepted instead a full-time

teaching position at the university where he continues to work. This move was for him a

clear statement, identifying himself with the world of 'real academics' as opposed to the

world of profit-seeking he saw taking place at the think-tank.

The eight works he produced during this period do largely reflect the different

worlds of think-tanks and academic scholarship. Three of the four think-tank papers are

short works (between 2-3 pages) and are clearly identified as papers belong to a "policy"

series. These papers do not include any references to any other works, and are written in a

style that Tolga calls "journalistic." The topics of the papers are clearly focused on

particular issues in Turkish politics, such as the election of a new president and what it

will mean for Turkish-American relations, or a discussion of who was behind the uprising of a certain islamist terrorist group in Turkey. Tolga believes these works reveal his own informed insights into these issues, and as such can be considered as "good examples" of this type of work.

The fourth of the think-tank published works is a longer piece, co-authored with one of Tolga's bosses at the think-tank. Tolga is fairly dismissive of the final product:

> It could have been a good one if I had had more time. Instead, [names boss] gives me 100 pages of basically raw data and tells me I have to quickly turn it into an article. The data was good, I mean, based on real observations and information from inside sources, but what could I do with it? I tried to give it some structure, some argument, a few connections to an earlier literature, but I didn't have enough time (Tolga, interview, June 21, 2002).

The article, which did not undergo a peer review, was subsequently published in a journal produced by the think-tank. Tolga's judgement of the quality of these four works seems to reflect his understanding of the different requirements of two different genres in international relations writing: the policy paper and the academic article. For the policy papers, he is satisfied that they reflect informed insights and interpretations. These factors alone are obviously not enough however, to produce a good academic article. Tolga has a clear idea of what he thinks needs to be done to produce an academic article, such as giving the piece structure, stating an argument, and providing a literature review or theoretical background, but he runs out of time to meet all these requirements. The piece thus fails to meet with his approval.

Tolga's four articles published during the same period in indexed journals are not at all recognizable as belonging to a single genre of "academic articles." They first reflect the wide variation of style and content in academic international relations journals. In

doing so, they also make it clear that there can be no definitive distinction between policy pieces and academic articles, rather it may be more productive to think of a continuum between two general tendencies. In the case of these four articles by Tolga, two were published in "policy oriented journals" and two were published in more theoretically oriented ones.

Of the two policy oriented journals, the first is a well-known quarterly, which attracts readers and contributors from both academic and non-academic circles. The pieces in the journal seem to reflect this duality, and sit somewhere in the middle of the policy paper/academic article continuum. Tolga's article in the journal is a co-authored one of medium length (6 pages). It is written in a fairly formal academic style in terms of language, on a topic that is very much related to Turkish foreign policy. There are some references in the article to previous literature, but Tolga told me that the journal editor made him cut out about half of his original references, saying, "'we don't like to run articles with lots of references.'" Although Tolga is quite pleased with the piece, he admits surprise that getting it published seemed to have more to do with connections to the editor, than producing good scholarship. As he recalls in an interview:

> They never sent the piece out for review or anything, so in that sense it
> was not different from a policy paper. Only the editor looked at it, made a
> few minor suggestions like the reference thing, and then the journal's
> editors shortened the piece and fixed up the language a bit, we OKed the
> changes, and it went out. I think it was a good piece, but I also think it got
> looked at seriously from the start because [names co-author] had some
> connection with the editor (Tolga, interview, June 21, 2002).

Here Tolga gives further details on the characteristics he feels distinguish a policy paper from an academic article. In addition to content differences between the two, such as references to a relevant body of literature, he also emphasizes the role of the external

review process. This difference again reflects the diverse nature and purpose of these two genres. In the policy paper, time is generally of the essence because the audience either wants to learn the implications of a recent event or needs to have the analysis to inform an upcoming decision. Under such circumstances, the time-consuming peer-review process is highly unpractical.

Tolga's article in the second policy-oriented journal is even more difficult to distinguish from a "policy paper." The journal in question is a monthly publication, generally featuring one or two fairly long works and then several short pieces. Although the authors are scholars with academic credentials, the style is very much intended to be readable and attractive to non-academic audiences as well. Tolga's piece is a short one (2 pages), again co-authored, and virtually identical in style and format to the policy papers for the think-tanks. There are no references in the piece to earlier literature, and the topic is focused on a particular aspect of Turkish foreign policy.

The two articles for more 'theoretically-oriented' journals are considerably different from these first two in surface appearance. Although they do both use some element of Turkey's foreign or domestic policy as a focus, they can immediately be distinguished from policy papers by their titles. In one case, there is a direct reference in the title about questioning a previously established theoretical argument, and in the second a new theoretical argument is proposed. Both works have extensive reference lists of earlier literature, and Tolga tries to locate both works within these bodies of literature either by showing how previous works have left questions unanswered or have failed to answer them correctly.

Tolga again makes note of the peer review when he describes the process of preparing these two pieces for publication:

> For both of these pieces there was a review process. I sent the pieces in, they went out to reviewers, blind reviews—though one guy waived his right to that and put his name, which was interesting for me because he was a very famous scholar. And then I got back the reviewers' reports, made their recommended changes, sent the piece back, the editor made a few more minor suggestions, I did them, and only then did the pieces get published (Tolga, interview, June 21, 2002).

Tolga clearly feels positive about the peer review process. He generally reports finding the reviewers' suggestions helpful, and he is more confident about the quality of the final published product. Learning the name of the reviewer in one case helped to further his belief that the piece was well written, "if [names reviewer] thought the piece was objective and right, I must have really succeeded in doing it."

During his graduate studies and in the early months after returning to Turkey, Tolga's academic reading practices were clearly dominated by scholarship being produced in the core of North America or, to a lesser extent, the United Kingdom. Even his self-proclaimed "ignorance" of Turkish scholarship did not seem to bother him in this early interview:

> It's gonna sound funny, but I'm kind of ignorant on what's written in Turkish or even by Turks in English. Remember, studying in the U.S. is different from England. There they read and read and write their dissertation. But I had to take almost thirty graduate courses by the end, and so I read what they forced me to read, now I read what is directly related to my research. It's much more about theoretical issues, so I don't have the time or interest to read Turkish stuff (Tolga, interview, November 18, 2000).

In this statement Tolga justifies his lack of familiarity with Turkish scholarship by first noting that the educational demands of North American graduate study did not leave him enough time to read outside of what was required of him. He then points out that during

the preparing of his dissertation, he was too busy reading the theoretical works directly relevant to his research topic to read "Turkish stuff".

In addition to just considerations of time and interest, Tolga also showed in this interview his clear admiration for other aspects of various North American scholars' writings:

> Some writers I admire for their methodology, their persistence on methodological clarity. It's easier to follow their arguments...how it's laid down, evidence, conclusion. Even if their research is not particularly interesting to me, I like their style. Say, for example...Mearscheimer. But then there are people like Rosenau. You can't say Rosenau has extreme clarity. He's not a traditional writer, I mean, he cites the New York Times, poets, ISQ, a booklet he found at an airport in Singapore, his own experiences. This makes him different from the methodological clear group. But I can say I like Rosenau. He always argues for the new. He tries to liberate minds, disciplinary fixations, from what he calls 'conceptual jails,' and that fascinates me (Tolga, interview, November 18, 2000).

Two distinct elements come through in his description of what he admires in scholarly writing. The first is his understanding of *methodological clarity*. When I subsequently asked him to tell me more about what he meant by this, he replied, "you know, stating your argument right off at the start, supporting it with clear evidence, and ending it. Nothing extra, everything clear." His description sounds less like 'methodological clarity' in the sense of epistemelogical principle, and more like what we might call the *direct logic* approach of rhetorical argument that was once associated by contrastive rhetoricians as being a feature of English writing (Kaplan, 1966). Although his admiration for this style of writing may indeed be in part to his having been acculturated into North American academic writing expectations, I would suggest that Tolga's admiration for a 'methodologically clear' approach seems to be equally related to his

personal characteristic of being direct and efficient (and possibly to his military background).

While in the above paragraph Tolga's admiration for predictability and clarity of structure comes through, ironically, the other aspect Tolga admires in academic writings is one of creativity and non-conformity. He cites the efforts of authors like Rosenau, who may sacrifice clarity, but draw Tolga's respect because they try to create new knowledge, and thus stimulate the reader to move beyond pre-conditioned ways of thinking.

Interestingly, Tolga's feelings about Turkish writers seemed to have changed somewhat after two years back in Turkey, as this excerpt from our last interview in late 2002 reveals:

> I used to think that foreigners' writing would make more sense to read. I thought, maybe, that Turkish scholarship was self-censored, and I didn't think I would learn a lot from them. Now I think I need to learn more about my colleagues' works. This is because I'm ready now to write about Turkish foreign policy so I don't want to miss points that they've already said (Tolga, interview, December 14, 2002).

What is perhaps most interesting in the above excerpt is Tolga's conscious assessment of now being "ready" to write about Turkish foreign policy. When I ask him about his perceptions of the cause for this change in his research agenda, he replies:

> Because if I'm settling in this country, and it looks like I am, I need to combine my training abroad with what's going on here. That's a natural thing. And, I also tend to think that it hasn't been done properly here. I can't necessarily say that for the newest generation, but I know it's true for the older generation because I read their stuff here as an undergrad (Tolga, interview, December 14, 2002).

After spending the first year or more after his return to Turkey attempting to carry on his academic reading and writing in the same way he had in North America, in other words, focusing on North American topics and sources, Tolga seems in this late interview to

have decided that this is no longer suitable. He determines that the most appropriate approach to research is to combine his strengths accumulated from his international studies, with his experiences and insights of the Turkish context. Not only does he feel this is the correct route for his own scholarship to take, he also notes that "it" (such combining of rigorous foreign disciplinary training and local analysis) has not been carried out well earlier Turkish IR scholars.

In a late interview, when I ask Tolga about his academic reading, he first pauses, and then gives a very thoughtful response, in which he categorizes his reading according to five general purposes, as illustrated in the following segment from our conversation:

> T: If I have an identified research agenda, then of course I choose articles telling about that. So my research agendas determine it. What are my research agendas you may ask? They are globalization and security, IR theory, and international terrorism. The second determinant of my reading is the courses I teach, particularly the graduate courses, because I need to update and replace the readings for those courses. The third determinant is when I see, um, you know my research assistant makes photocopies for me of the table of contents of many different journals, maybe 25 different journals, and I look at them and decide what's important for me to know. What's important? Well, I try to keep updated on what the discipline is debating and if I see a title related to one of those debates, I read the article. The fourth determinant is the journals I receive from my membership in ISA. Right now, for example, I'm reading a piece by Ann Tickner on feminism and September 11. Probably I'll assign this piece for my IR theory course because it's interesting and it seems cutting edge. Finally, the last thing determining my reading recently is, I'm reading on Turkish foreign policy, because I know I need to prepare for the associate professor exam. So even though I used to deliberately stay away from this, now I'm reading it.
>
> J: Why did you used to deliberately stay away from it?
>
> T: Because I thought I could always learn it easily on my own. The other things looked like I needed to study them with guidance but Turkish foreign policy appeared something I could do on my own. Now for professional reasons I'm reading it. That's also why I agreed to teach Foreign Policy Analysis, because reading for it would help prepare me to

analyze Turkish foreign policy as a case (Julie and Tolga, interview, June 21, 2002).

Tolga shows in this response, as he does in others, that he not only admires the "methodological clarity" of some writers, but he tries to emulate them even when answering a question about his reading practices. Not only does he try to structure his response in an oral point format ("first…second…third…"), he attempts to anticipate questions I might have, and provides various examples to explain his points. Near the end of the excerpt, he also gives further details on why he has recently begun reading about Turkish foreign policy, having previously stayed away from "it." Noting this change, he remarks on the relative ease of reading about local policy issues. He displays a strong pragmatism as he explains how he, when he was under the guidance of professors, took advantage of their expertise to facilitate his own reading of more complex texts.

Clearly, from our interviews, I see that Tolga's literacy practices have undergone quite dramatic changes over the two years since returning to Turkey. When we first met, he was proud of his North American training and the emphasis he received there on both IR theory as a subject, and on a structured approach to studying IR issues in general. He was critical of IR in Turkey (and virtually anywhere except North America) for being overly "historical" and "non-analytical," as he put it: "Whether it's in their teaching or their writing, they can come together, talk about a topic, and no one questions 'what's the point of all this?' Where does it fit into the big picture?"

With time spent back in Turkey, however, Tolga has begun to form an appreciation for taking his local context into greater consideration. He is still very much interested in applying his theoretical training in the works he produces, but his understanding of how to do this has taken on a new, localized dimension. Tolga again

takes up this idea of combining theory and local experience in scholarship in the following interview excerpt, in which he describes what he now believes the ideal Turkish IR scholar—and thus, his own future aspirations—would be:

> I would like to be someone who can combine theory and policy. I would like to first take the theories that the core produces and use them in my efforts to explain things in Turkey. Better yet, I would like to be someone who could not only explain things on a conceptual level, but also somehow build up some original perspective out of looking at Turkey's international relations or Turkey's politics. That's my goal in fact. I would call myself really successful if I could come up with a work identified as an original theoretical perspective originating out of these lands, out of Turkey, or Turkey-like countries. That would certify that knowledge has accumulated in this country and finally produced something (Tolga, interview, December 14, 2002).

Noteworthy in this excerpt is Tolga's consciousness of the geographical differences between "core" and "periphery" in his conceptualizing of the ideal Turkish IR scholar. He recognizes the traditional trajectory of theory transmission from its production in the core to its gradual spreading outwards throughout the periphery, and then portrays the "good" Turkish IR scholar as one who is at least aware of and able to make use of this knowledge. He then describes how the ideal Turkish IR scholar, however, would turn this trajectory around. Instead of just applying imported perspectives, Tolga's ideal scholar would produce original theoretical perspectives or understandings based on the local contexts.

Tolga is still a young and ambitious scholar, who, as he searches to find his own niche in the worlds of Turkey, Turkish IR, and the IR discipline as a whole, seems to be trying out many different options (as revealed for example, by the broad list of purposes behind his reading, and by the variety in his policy/theory oriented publications). During our discussion about what he would like to be and where he sees himself heading as a

Turkish IR scholar, he reveals a distinguishing characteristic of balancing in his current academic literacy practices. When we continue this discussion, Tolga explores this shaky balancing act further and reveals some worries about the difficulties of juggling the multiple roles he finds it necessary to play:

> I don't know who I am now, but I know what I want to be. I want to be a scholar with an identity of being intellectual. I also want to influence policy making in this country because I believe in the practical side of knowledge and think it is important to help this country to develop. Then there is my job. I have to show nice scholarship, and I have do nice teaching...objective, student-caring teaching. But I have to show that I can make a difference with my scholarship and contribute to the development of this country. This is a dilemma for scholars of the developing world. How are you going to do it all? I want to do it all, but I should call myself very lucky if I can do 50% of it (Tolga, interview, December 14, 2002).

Here, Tolga outlines what he sees are four basic demands on developing world IR scholars. Like their core colleagues, non-core IR scholars must fulfil a professional identity of "intellectual", they must carry out their teaching activities, and they must produce quality scholarship. Noteworthy, however, is Tolga's description of a fourth requirement of periphery scholars, that they use their position, training, and abilities not merely for abstract academic activities, but also in working for the improvement of their country.

Tolga's thoughts are likely to cause any academic to pause and consider what the goals and functions of scholarship are. In virtually any field of scholarship, it is easy to imagine people agreeing with Tolga on the first three requirements he mentions. But even the fourth 'requirement' can be seen as necessary if a scholar chooses to do so. I can imagine obvious examples in the fields of education or medicine, for example, in which scholarship would be seen as having to serve to improve the learning conditions or health

of the public. Assuming a 'social' research agenda such as these may be seen as a 'requirement' regardless of the development level of the scholars' national context.

While Tolga seems to be trying to juggle these multiple demands, he worries about the negative effect that such a balancing of roles could have on the quality of his performance in any one of them:

> My fear is that being divided will produce imperfect outcomes. That's a big worry. You can't be just a full-time activist, or teacher. Some of my colleagues pretend they're doing several things but they're either doing a crappy job or they're doing just one thing and pretending to do the others (Tolga, interview, December 14, 2002).

He points out an understandable fear that, despite his desire to meet all the demands on Turkish IR scholars, fulfilling all of these roles may be a futile task. An extended attempt to spread oneself so thin, may lead to producing poor quality work on all or some fronts. He then goes on to identify the area in which he believes most of his colleagues ultimately cut corners:

> Theory takes time. There are tons to read. I still spend hours to really understand, digest, a theoretical piece. And we all know that reading it in English, and I feel this will last forever, slows you down. Other pieces are clear, you can get the argument in the first page if it's well written. As opposed to that, take a piece like Waltz's "response to my critiques." First you have to digest what he originally wrote, then you have to understand all the critiques, and then you can start to read his response. You have to have a longitudinal understanding of these questions, debate, not to mention being familiar with the style, discourse, and jargon. So most of them don't do it. They don't read it, and they certainly don't write it. Why do you think the heaviest, most theoretical courses in my department are taught by the junior faculty? Because 80% of the senior faculty couldn't handle them. They don't know the content and they don't know about making arguments in a logical manner, with clear links between the evidence and hypothesis. They don't even know what a hypothesis is (Tolga, interview, December 14, 2002).

In this excerpt Tolga again reveals his understanding of the relative difficulty of the different demands he faces. As in his earlier comments about reading, when he noted that

Turkish foreign policy readings could be handled easily on one's own, but other, more theoretical works were better read with guidance, he points out here the challenges of following up on theoretical discussions. In terms of scholars' familiarity with theorizing, he also draws a distinction between older and younger generations of Turkish IR scholars, a discussion that is taken up by several of the other participants, and which I explore further in chapters 5 and 6.

Identifying Tolga

So far in this discussion I have drawn attention to a few of Tolga's personal attributes and experiences that seem to be affecting the ways in which he constructs his identity as a Turkish IR scholar. These factors, which I would label as 'personal identity' factors, include his pragmatism, desire for efficiency, and his military training. I have also included some interview excerpts that reveal a few of Tolga's beliefs as indications of his desired 'professional identity.' To clarify what I mean by 'personal' and 'professional' identity, it seems useful to draw on two of the four aspects of writer identity defined by Ivanic (1998). What I refer to generally as 'personal' identity, is closest to Ivanic's category of "autobiographical self." Ivanic refers to the autobiographical self as being the "identity people bring with them to any act of writing, shaped as it is by their prior social and discoursal history" (p. 24). In other words, this element of self develops out of the individual's life history, his or her roots, and may involve issues of social constraints from particular positions and discourses. What I call 'professional' identity, on the other hand, seems closest to Ivanic's category of "possibilities for self-hood." She points out that there will be several ways in any

institution or socio-cultural context for doing the same thing, and that some will be privileged over others. To reword this in the framework and language of the activity system analysis of chapter 2, she is basically saying that within the activity system of Turkish IR scholars, there are a variety of means with which members can seek to achieve goals within the system.

Tolga's explanations of what he values in the Turkish IR scholar, and what he ideally sees himself becoming, are actually expressions of his understandings of what these 'privileged ways' are in the local and disciplinary IR communities. His written works—and the degree of satisfaction he expresses in them—can be viewed as signs of how he uses various means to present a desired professional identity. He sees himself as very much a Turkish scholar, but would hope that he could use that position to eventually create something original that the core as well might use. Accomplishing this would certify his position in the local community as a "core-oriented" scholar. At the same time, it would guarantee him a unique position in the core, of being a periphery scholar, working from the periphery, but contributing to the core theoretical community. As Tolga points out, "there's no one doing that yet. No one. You might say there's Mohammed Ayoob, but he's been working out of Michigan for the last 30 years, not out of India."

Equally important to Tolga's local professional identity, however, is the exact identification of which areas within the discipline he will be associated with. He first describes the importance of this issue when telling about how courses are assigned at his institution:

> People are really protective of their topics. I told [Ebru] that I wanted to
> teach a course on international terrorism, and she told me to quickly tell
> the chair because I needed to 'claim these territories'. There's like a secret
> code in Turkish academia, if you're listed as teaching a course, then no

> matter what, they can't take it from you. It's like tenure at the course level. There's even a saying in Turkish, *"hoca'nin ders alinmaz"*, which means 'you can't take the professor's course away from him.' There are also boundaries between courses. Like when I wanted to give more Turkish examples in my Foreign Policy Analysis course and was told that the Turkish Foreign Policy professors would get offended or would warn me (Tolga, interview, June 21, 2002).

He adds that this concept is very much true as well with research topics. He points out that several people have warned him to publish the model from his Ph.D. dissertation quickly or else someone else will do it. He also expresses how "scary" it is to hear that someone is expressing an interest in researching something similar to his own research topics, and adds:

> Frankly, when I heard that [names professor] was working on something like my topic, it made me angry. I should have been careful when I was telling him about my model, I could see he was taking it all down. Now he could go and capture my whole model if he wants (Tolga, interview, June 21, 2002).

Ultimately, when I consider Tolga's current literacy practices in light of the various activity system filters presented in chapter 2, I see few examples of conflict or so-called 'thickness'. At the moment, Tolga has shown himself quite capable of using even the privileged means of the core IR system. Moreover, due to his previous training in the military combined with serious academic training abroad, he is able to provide a unique perspective on local issues, and has therefore in just two years become an increasingly prominent figure locally. He is by far the youngest IR scholar to have been asked to join in various closed conferences of the Turkish Foreign Policy Institute associated with the Turkish government and with a leading private university, and has accepted invitations to speak on television and radio. Because of his military background, he has also,

unsurprisingly, been asked on several occasions to prepare advisory reports and presentations for various commanders of the Turkish General Staff.

Tolga's own fears about balancing these various "hats" do suggest that some kind of 'filtering thickness' may emerge in the future. He is currently managing to balance his roles. He is trying to contribute to the theoretical agenda in the core, take an active part in local scholarship, and use his scholarship to affect real policy-making. At the same time, he has been trying to make the most of his teaching—both for his own benefit, and for that of his students. Undoubtedly, however, it will be ever more of a challenge for Tolga to continue balancing all the roles he defines for himself, and possibly one or two them will naturally begin to assume secondary positions. As he points out, keeping up with theoretical debates in the core takes a lot of time. It will be interesting to see, therefore, whether this will be the role that will diminish. After introducing the case of the second study participant, I return to Tolga's case at the end of this chapter and discuss the shifts that have begun to occur in his feelings about the role of teaching. These shifts suggest that teaching may become the first role to be subordinated.

The Idealist

> [In graduate school] I had people around who were interested in similar subjects...I had other Ph.D. students around who would make very excellent comments. It was very lively there, people coming in to give presentations, students presenting like every week, discussing each other's work. That's something I really miss here...(Ebru, interview, December 12, 2002).

The second of the two emergent scholars is Ebru. When we first met, she had returned only two months earlier from her graduate studies abroad and begun full-time teaching at a leading private university. At that time she was the newest faculty member

in her department. Ebru was raised in Ankara; her parents are both academics. Her early

education was in regular Turkish state schools. She first began to learn English when she

attended an Anatolian High School. Ebru's training in IR began with an undergraduate

degree from Middle East Technical University and continued with an M.A. from Bilkent.

With the help of a British Council scholarship, she was able to go to England for a year

of graduate study, and while there obtained further funding to stay on and complete her

Ph.D.

Ebru gives the impression of being a woman who is focused and deliberate in her

decision-making and acts. Despite her statement to the contrary, she in fact strikes me as

having been relatively clearer in her decision to enter the field of IR than were many of

the other participants:

> IR at METU was my top choice on the university exam. The subjects I
> was interested in at the time…it was not really a very conscious choice. I
> wanted to study social sciences. I knew I was interested in history, I was
> interested in geography, I was interested in politics, and international
> relations as a subject seemed to be something that brought all those things
> together. And at the time I was also a little bit interested in the prospect of
> going into the foreign office. Not very much, but it was another option—
> this is something I can do if I graduate from a department of IR. But an
> academic career was something I wanted from the first moment onwards
> (Ebru, interview, March 12, 2001).

During her M.A. degree at Bilkent, she notes that "there was an opportunity to read

widely." It was during this period of broad exposure to the scholarship of IR that Ebru

herself stumbled upon and became interested in an area of the discipline that would

determine a large part of her academic future. She became interested in IR theory, and in

particular, the works of critical theorists within the discipline. This focus led her to select

a particular university in England for her studies (based on the research interests of the

faculty), and ultimately it directed her in the selection of a thesis advisor. As she points

out, she had long known what she wanted to do for her Ph.D and with whom she wanted

to work:

> I wanted to work with him [names advisor], and he was, I mean, is
> interested in critical security studies and I was somebody who wanted to
> work on that. I was lucky in the sense that they were looking for someone,
> for Ph.D. students to work on that subject, and I was terribly interested in
> it. I mean, I had traveled a long way just to do that, so it was good timing I
> guess (Ebru, interview, March 12, 2001).

Ebru was a successful student in England; she completed her dissertation on critical

security studies and regional security in the Middle East in just four years.

Perhaps, because she grew up with parents who were both academics, Ebru seems

to have a very professional attitude towards her career. In a sense, through her parents,

she began her informal apprenticeship into the profession of academia long before

actually entering the academic community herself. This apprenticeship included

observing her parents carrying out academic duties such as correcting students' works or

writing pieces of their own, and also meant becoming familiar at a young age with the

university environment through visits to her parents' offices and classrooms. At a less

physical level, her parents' profession also sparked Ebru's early apprenticeship into

academia by encouraging them to read to her frequently and to instill a love of learning in

her at a young age.

In addition to her professionalism, this early training may explain in part why

Ebru already seems to know how to perform the requirements of her profession both

efficiently and well. When I look at the syllabi for her courses, it is immediately evident

that they are the products of much effort and consideration. In them, she takes care to

explain to the students her rationale behind various decisions, such as why to assign

group projects over individual ones, or why she has allotted a high percentage of the

grade to a particular task. She describes assignments that are varied and seem to offer

opportunities for students of different strengths to excel. The syllabi also include

extensive lists of related optional readings for interested students. For example, for one

week of her Foreign Policy Analysis course, the readings are listed as:

Week 4 November 2 - *Foreign Policy and Identity*

- D. Campbell, Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of
  Identity, rvs. ed. (Minneapolis: U of Minn Press, 1998) Especially pp. 16-33.
- J. Milliken, "Intervention and Identity: Reconstructing the West in Korea", in
  Cultures of Insecurity: States, Communities, and the Production of Danger, J. Weldes
  et. al. (Minneapolis: U of Minn Press, 1999) 91-117.

Optional readings:
  - D. Campbell, Politics without Principle: Sovereignty, Ethics, and the
    Narratives of the Gulf War (Boulder, Co: Lynne Rienner Pub., 1993)
  - M. Barnett, "Peacekeeping, Indifference and Genocide in Rwanda," in J
    Weldes et. Al. (Minneapolis: U of Minn. Press, 1999) 173-202.

While managing her teaching in a professional manner, she also has been able to take on

increasingly important administrative positions within her department. As I was

completing the writing up of this research, she had recently been named Assistant Dean

in charge of external affairs, a position not generally given here to someone with only

two years of university experience.

The element of professionalism clearly comes through in Ebru's reporting of her

literacy practices as well. In response to a general question about her academic reading,

Ebru promptly replies:

> The only thing I subscribe to is *The Review of International Studies*, which
> comes with British International Studies Association membership. Other
> than that, I go to the library to check the latest journals. I get the table of
> contents of some journals sent to me over email, and if I'm interested in
> them I go to the library, or if our library is subscribed to them I get them
> via the internet. I don't read them on line though, I like printed copies so
> that I can highlight things and write on them. I try to read something from
> start to finish if I can, if I have the time. Abstracts I read only if I know

> nothing about the author. If I'm interested in the subject and I know
> nothing about the author, I check the bibliography first and the footnotes,
> then I read the abstract (Ebru, interview, March 12, 2001).

Obviously, Ebru has an efficient and clear set of practices for keeping herself up-to-date on IR literature. She also seems to have well-practiced strategies for streamlining her ability to gather relevant information from the texts she chooses to read. She is equally clear in her response when I ask about which scholars' writing she admires:

> There are some people whose works…Ken Booth is one of those. Some
> people go for clarity—Steve Smith is one of those people. He's very clear
> in what he is writing. Ken Booth has got the normative dimension very
> strongly in what he writes, and he's got a particular way of using the
> English language, so that's why I like him. There are a couple of people,
> Jennifer Logan for example, people from the University of Minnesota,
> Alexander Wendt, mainly constructivists, I like the way they construct
> arguments. I guess it's something that comes from the US background…I
> try to pay particular attention to the way they're building up the actual
> argument throughout the piece (Ebru, interview, March 12, 2001).

It is interesting that, like Tolga, Ebru identifies two main elements, which she admires in other scholars' writing. The first, similar to Tolga's description of "methodological clarity", is her appreciation of the clarity with which certain writers construct arguments in their writing—a quality she attributes to North American training. She also praises a second feature of writing, which is the "normative dimension" in a particular scholar's works. With this comment she makes an interesting diversion from what many would normally expect as characteristics of good academic writing. Traditionally academic writing has been more often associated with attempts at remaining 'objective' and impassionate, but here Ebru is admiring a writer for his practice of taking a position on right and wrong. Indeed, this "emotionalizing" of the topic could be considered an element distinguishing the works of the critical security scholars with whom Ebru closely identifies herself. For example, critical security studies

emphasize the idea of individual security, as opposed to traditional security studies, which focus on states, and can therefore be seen as more distanced from the personal side of security issues.

When it comes to Ebru's own writing, she is also able to articulate a clear picture of her writing process. She describes it as a process beginning with a rough outline, proceeding to a draft, and then continuing as a cyclical series of draft, revision, draft, revision. She adds that the focus of the work is generally not immediately clear to her at the outset, but rather, "more often than not I find out what I want to say while I'm writing."

The most prominent issue to emerge from this discussion however, comes when I ask Ebru for further details on this drafting and revision process. In her response she draws attention to the lack of feedback she receives for her drafts here, and ultimately reveals her dissatisfaction with the level of communication and sharing of thoughts about academic issues between faculty members. Almost two years after returning from England, she clearly continues to miss the atmosphere she experienced there as a graduate student:

> E: When I had people around who were interested in similar subjects, I used to give drafts of my works to them. Nowadays I sometimes send them away to people, or usually I just don't give it to anybody. I did give something to some colleagues here recently...OK, I say these things about Turkey's policies, what do you think? What kind of reaction that's gonna get? But people here usually do not comment on structure or use of sources. They may suggest literature, but the kind of feedback I used to get there I don't get here.

> J: What kind of feedback did you used to get there?

> E: Well, of course you have your supervisor. But also I had other Ph.D. students around who would make very excellent comments, and I don't have that kind of environment here. Here, maybe it's because people are

not really used to presenting a paper and then giving feedback to each other, people don't do that. It was very lively there, people coming in to give presentations, students presenting like every week, discussing each others' work. That's something I really miss here (Julie and Ebru, interview, December 12, 2002).

In this excerpt Ebru gives a first sign of what I see as her 'ideal' image of academia--a dynamic world in which scholars actively contribute to and participate in an exchange of ideas. She also very openly reveals her disappointment at not finding that same spirit in her current working context.

Despite her disappointment about the type of scholarly feedback and lack of exchange she was experiencing, I still expected to find that her literacy practices would be considered 'thin,' or conflict-free, in relation to the various activity system filters. When I look at her published works, it is evident that Ebru's literacy practices are very much connected with the core IR activity system. This filter can be considered as thin for Ebru because she is very much interested in being a part of the core IR discipline, and she is very capable of using the means within the core disciplinary community. A glance at her growing list of publications, reveals that they are all in English, all published outside of Turkey, and are predominantly published in Social Science Citation Index or other refereed journals. To add still further to my anticipation of a lack of conflict in her literacy practices, she is also receiving full-hearted support to continue her current pattern, since the institution in which she works particularly awards faculty members for publishing in core journals.

The potential conflicts have begun to rise over the last two years when I look at her relationship with the local Turkish IR community. In general I would not have expected any problems to arise, since, as I elaborate on in chapter 5, the local IR

community respects and values the type of literacy practices that come natural to Ebru—publishing abroad and applying theoretical analyses to her works. Nevertheless, conflicts do seem to have arisen, stemming primarily, it seems, from the particular focus of Ebru's core disciplinary interests.

This particular focus refers to Ebru's long-time connection with the area of critical security studies and with critical theory in IR. This area has been of particular interest to Ebru since the early days of her graduate studies, and has guided her decisions about where to study, whom to study with, and what and where to read and write now that she is an assistant professor. During her years abroad she was completely immersed in an environment in which critical security studies were not just accepted by those working around her, but were in fact their brainchild. As she points out, her decision to go to the university she chose, rather than a more well-known university such as the London School of Economics, was that she wanted the opportunity to work directly under the guidance of the very founders of critical security studies. She agrees that it was very inspiring and exciting to travel straight to the spot from which the most well-known research in her particular area of interest was being produced, and to work with scholars whose works she had long admired.

In many ways it has been equally disappointing to return from that ideal, to the realities of actual academic life as an IR scholar in Turkey. In addition to her dissatisfaction with the level of feedback and discussion of ideas among colleagues, she is also unhappy with the level of training of her graduate students here. She expresses concern that some of the courses may not be as demanding as they ought to be, and regrets the lack of opportunities the students have to practice their analytical thinking.

Ultimately, she finds their training provides inadequate preparation for participation in the type of theoretical discussions she remembers so fondly from her own graduate studies. Referring to the visit of a distinguished IR theorist to her department in Turkey, she notes:

> Kratochwil did just a very, the basics of constructivism. But the level of the discussion was very disappointing. I mean, I was wondering why they organized the conference when the audience is not actually ready for a conference. I would like to invite a couple of people to come speak here as well, but the graduate students are just not ready for something like this. We have to prepare them, they have to know the basics of IR theory to actually attend a conference like this and engage in intelligent discussion. Otherwise it turns into a kind of making jokes about IR theory without necessarily knowing much about it, or people just making theory unintelligible so that it puts other people off (Ebru, interview, December 12, 2002).

In addition to providing more evidence of Ebru's disappointment over leaving the stimulating academic environment she once knew, this excerpt also seems to lay the groundwork for a discussion about the role of 'theory' and 'theorizing' in Turkish IR. Although I explore this issue in greater depth in the following two chapters, one point raised here seems important to mention now. The last sentence of the above excerpt refers to two groups of IR scholars: those who do not know IR theory and therefore make fun of it, and those who claim to know and teach IR theory, but do so in a way that no one understands it. The former group's actions are understandable, since many of us are apt to mock things we do not fully understand. The latter group's actions could be attributed to their not truly knowing the subject well enough to teach it effectively. These actions could also possibly be due to this group's desire to first boost the idea of theory as the most privileged means in the system, and then to try and keep the access to this

privileged means open to only a few. Both possible explanations should be kept in mind when I return to this discussion in chapter 5.

During the course of my research for this study, a new faculty member was added to Ebru's department. He is, in fact, Tolga, the first participant presented in this study. At first Ebru seemed pleased with Tolga's appointment because, as a fresh graduate, he too was interested in exchanging ideas about research, giving and taking feedback on works in progress, and trying new teaching methods like team-teaching a course. He also came with a strong training in the theoretical side of IR, but a more traditional one than Ebru's critically based studies. Despite their early positive professional relations and frequent exchanging of ideas, they both admit that recently their relations have been somewhat strained. The cause of the strain is related to issues of professional identity.

The main issue of contention is that of Ebru's connection with the critical approach to IR theory and to security studies. Tolga has maintained an openly 'critical' stance towards this school of thought, basically arguing that, in terms of security, it is of little relevance to states like Turkey, which are located in regions of traditional security concerns. Moreover, he has argued that "theory for theory's sake" serves little purpose:

> We people who consider ourselves theory people, often criticize the policy people because they just write descriptive analyses, they don't try to look for bigger patterns, or they don't try to apply existing theoretical frameworks to analyze the things they see and experience. But theory for theory's sake only, in other words, theory that isn't based on or applied to the local context, is equally as unproductive as writing policy studies without grounding them in theory (Tolga, interview, December 14, 2002).

Thanks to two presentations that Ebru and Tolga have made together, Tolga's perspective has been made public, and has appealed to many of their department colleagues and graduate students.

Although Ebru maintains that the recent discussions about the appropriateness of critical approaches in the Turkish context have not swayed her interest or belief in their importance, she admits that she has been affected by these exchanges and criticisms:

> I'm not going to give up on what I believe in, but of course the recent
> discussions touch me in some way. Some relations have become changed,
> less open, and I have to think more about how I can make my work clearer
> to others maybe (Ebru, interview, March 15, 2003).

This desire to make her works "clearer" can be seen as her placing increased emphasis on producing works that will be of greater interest to the local IR community. As a part of this shift in her literacy practices, she has even shown greater interest in addressing the policy side of her field. In the last months of my data collection, Ebru had begun establishing contacts with some foreign policy institutes connected with the Turkish government and the university where she works. Curiously however, her experience with the local IR community seems to be largely the reverse of that for many of her colleagues. For several of the other participants in this study, addressing the local community is seen as the easy route to take, and thus the local filter is for them a 'thin' one. Using the means of the local community allows them to write in Turkish and to write on topics with which they are familiar. For Ebru, the reverse picture is true. Writing in Turkish, for example, is difficult and time consuming for her:

> I studied IR in English from day one, and IR is not very well developed in
> Turkish. It's a language that I have to learn and partly make up as I go
> along. That's going to be time consuming and it's going to require
> investment. It's not something I can…I can turn out a conference report
> over the weekend in English. I can't do that in Turkish (Ebru, interview,
> December 12, 2002).

In addition to language problems, there is the issue that after years of dealing exclusively with abstract theoretical issues, Ebru is less prepared that many of her peers

to participate in discussions of, for example, Turkish foreign policy, or Turkey's relations with particular regions or countries. The confidence many other study participants feel when discussing Turkish issues comes at least in part from years of having maintained close ties with Turkey close observations of local politics. Tolga, for example, reports that during his years in the United States, he rarely missed a day of reading the Turkish newspapers on the internet, or talking with Turkish friends about events back in Turkey. Ebru, on the other hand, describes how she chose to become immersed in the culture where she was living, "I made a conscious effort to keep listening to the radio, keeping the TV on at all times...I worked hard on improving my practical English. That was the part I worked harder on" (Ebru, interview, March 12, 2000). Trying to reengage in the discussions on Turkish foreign policy after having maintained distance from these issues for several years, is a task she finds challenging. Ebru's decisions as a graduate student to immerse herself culturally may have helped her in her ESL language learning. However, a side effect of this decision may have been to gradually disconnect her from having access to a particular mediational means (writing about current events in Turkish foreign policy) that many outsiders might consider as an obvious or 'easy' means for Turkish IR scholars to use.

For these reasons, her attempts to address the local policy-oriented community seem to have been rather frustrating for her. When I ask her to tell me about her experiences at a recent conference on Turkey and Iraq sponsored by a well-known American think tank, she is dismissive: "It was really bad. You know, the quality of these types of conferences is...well, they're not academic" (Ebru, interview, December 12, 2002). Yet another participant in the same conference—a think-tank research fellow—

reported to me that it was a "good one," but added that she did not understand Ebru's presentation. These two opposing assessments of the same conference suggest that the speakers are applying different criteria. Much the same as Tolga's having different criteria for the policy reports he writes in contrast to the articles he submits to academic journals, the format of the policy-oriented conference is different from that of a more theoretically-oriented conference. Ebru assesses the policy conference with the criteria of what she considers an "academic" conference. Naturally, then, when participants give purely descriptive or historical accounts of, for example, Turkish-Iraqi relations, or when they fail to try and draw connections between similar cases, Ebru finds the analysis lacking.

Despite her personal dissatisfaction with the type of analysis carried out in policy circles, and her own preference for participating in the abstract theoretical debates of the core IR community, Ebru is unlikely to give up on her efforts to participate in the local IR community, and in particular in its dominant policy-oriented dimensions. First, although Ebru has always taken pride in her professional identity of being a "theory person" as opposed to a policy person, the recent discussions in her department seem to have added a new dimension to the theory/policy labels. Tolga has argued convincingly for the necessity of combining the theory of the core with the reality of the local context—an argument even Ebru admits "makes some sense." Ebru's professionalism and idealism about the nature of scholarly debate and exchange will not allow her to simply dismiss these ideas. She will seek means of addressing this demand, even if these are more difficult for her than the ones she is accustomed to using.

Secondly, the recent discussions in her department over the appropriateness of critical theory have reminded Ebru of the reality that she is no longer a Ph.D. student in England. She is, rather, an assistant professor of IR in Turkey. In order for her to raise her stature locally, it is not necessarily enough to be well-versed in and contributing to a select but very small circle of foreign academics. As a scholar entering her third year of teaching and researching here, Ebru will almost surely face her associate professor exams within the next year. Although she has well surpassed the technical publishing requirements to receive her title from the Higher Education Council, she is no doubt aware that the real trick in passing is to meet the approval of the jury. As the following excerpt from an interview with Tolga shows, the jury's decision may be based on far more than concrete evidence of scholarship:

> So I was criticizing their standards and then [names professor] stopped me
> quite sharply and he said, 'look, you need to be careful what you're
> saying. It's people like them and me who are going to be on your
> committee when you go for your *doçentlik* exam, and it may not be easy
> for us to forget if you have been going around publicly criticizing us about
> things like this' (Tolga, interview, December 14, 2002).

The oral jury exams for professional advancement have been very much used in Turkey as ways for older generation scholars to hold power over younger scholars. While this may be true to some degree in academia worldwide, the Turkish system seems particularly problematic. First, the clearly stated written requirements for advancement between levels of professorship are kept very low, leaving the bulk of the decision resting with the oral examiners. The pool from which the oral examiners are selected has, until the last few years, been very limited, and thus the power for advancement lay in the hands of a very small group of individuals. Only within the year 2002, have a few IR scholars from the "new generation" (a label which Tolga raises in this chapter and which

I discuss in more detail in chapter 5) become full professors, thus making them eligible for serving on the juries.

The second reason why the Turkish jury system for advancement has been especially problematic concerns the level of political sensitivity in matters of higher education. As I pointed out in chapter 1, the Higher Education Council was originally created less to insure academic quality but more to provide strong central control over a university system that was seen as ultra-left wing and dangerous to the state. Although the danger is now seen as stemming more from Islamist fronts, the Higher Education Council continues its mission of upholding the state and its values (in this case, secularist ones). As a result, some scholars with very strong publishing and research records have been rejected for professional advancement because of their political or ideological positions.

Although Ebru has no fear of alienating the jury with her ideological or political stance, she also realizes it is probably unwise to appear in front of this group of often locally educated IR professors with a research record that may appear overly esoteric or dramatically removed from what they are familiar with in the discipline. The increasing number of reports I have heard about reactions from juries against scholars who have published only abroad or only in English lend support to this supposition. I find it likely, therefore, that Ebru will continue to seek ways of addressing the local IR community more in her literacy practices. Although I have no doubt that she will gradually locate means of doing so that are more accessible to her, this remains for the moment a filter that can be considered as 'thick'.

Summary

From the discussions of the cases of Tolga and Ebru, two points in particular

seem to emerge. The first concerns the role of teaching in the overall activity of being a

Turkish IR scholar. Except with these two participants, issues related to teaching

generally came up only rarely in my interviews. When addressed directly by me, other

participants generally downplayed their teaching or made some reference to the burden of

their teaching requirements, such as heavy course loads or the lack of teaching assistants

to help in correcting exam papers. If they made any link between teaching and literacy

practices, it was only to complain that teaching took valuable time away from their

research efforts. However, Tolga in particular made direct reference to the benefits he

derived from his teaching, both at the undergraduate and graduate levels. In addition, I

personally observed the time and effort that both Ebru and Tolga put into their

preparation for their courses, from the initial designing of the syllabi, to their degree of

accessibility to the students, to the struggles they had with trying to make their evaluation

processes transparent and fair.

An interesting twist to this issue emerged in my last talk with Tolga, held at the

end of his first semester of full-time teaching. Although he was the one participant to

make a positive link between his teaching and his literacy practices, he was growing

increasingly cynical about the role of teaching in general:

> I've started thinking it's for self satisfaction, and I told this to [Ebru].
> We're just doing all this work to make ourselves feel good...feel
> important. Why are we spending so many hours on these grades, on these
> exams? The other teachers don't know and they aren't doing like this. The
> administration doesn't know. It's a kind of self pleasing (Tolga, interview,
> December 14, 2002).

His frustration points to an important factor when considering the activity of being a Turkish IR scholar, namely, the undervaluing of the role of teaching. From my observations and interviews I have seen how undergraduate students at the state schools in particular are generally subject to a transmission model (Barnes, 1976) of teaching—the professors lecture to audiences of 100 or more students, who are then required to rewrite the lectures as completely as possible to receive high marks on their exams. In general the universities seem to be making little effort to encourage changes in this system. The situation is somewhat different in the best universities, where students I've spoken to report a slightly more "American" system involving discussions and paper writing. Nevertheless, improvement initiatives and incentives in these same top universities remain almost exclusively linked to publishing.

Though the teaching style may change somewhat at the graduate level, the idea that teaching graduate students may bring some benefit to the professor as well, does not seem well established. This failure to see the teaching/advising of graduate students as a potentially mutually beneficial process, may be caused in part by some professors' low evaluation of graduate students' capabilities. As one professor commented, "all the smart students [in IR] leave after finishing their undergraduate degree. They go to the foreign ministry or into business, or maybe they go abroad for graduate work. What's left, well..." Based on informal talks I have had with various professors, this attitude seems fairly widespread. The exception seems to be a few professors at private institutions, who are often directly responsible for 'sponsoring', in a sense, selecting, their own graduate students from the pool of candidates. As Tolga explains:

> That's one of the best parts about working here. I get to choose the
> graduate students I'll work with. If I recommend it, the university even

offers them a scholarship. So of course I told my two smartest students from [names university] to apply here, and now I have these really bright kids working with me, which is a big help (Tolga, interview, December 14, 2002).

Here Tolga reveals again both his pragmatism and his appreciation for the potential benefits of working with graduate students.

As mentioned, at the private universities and leading state universities the entire emphasis for the faculty seems to be on publishing. Promotions and raises are based primarily on publishing records, and there is a tremendous competition among universities to show that their faculty has "outpublished" the rest. Only one university, the newly established private Sabanci University, has gained a reputation for encouraging its faculty to put teaching first. It will be very interesting to observe in future years whether any differences emerge between graduates of Sabanci University and those of other Turkish universities. If Sabanci students should ever prove to be somehow more successful, it may encourage other universities—particularly in the private sector—to reconsider the relationship between research and teaching.

The second interesting point to emerge from Tolga and Ebru's cases, is what I call the idea of an "anarchic world of IR scholarship." I use the term "anarchic" in the sense that it is used in the field of IR, rather than its more common understanding of not having any control, or being chaotic. In IR, the realist paradigm views the world as anarchic in the sense that each state will always strive to maximize its own power over that of every other state. States will only cooperate with each other if they see cooperation as a means for improving their own situation. Realists further subscribe to an understanding of "relative gains," which implies that in their relations with other states, not only will a state always want to gain, it will only be satisfied by gaining more than the others. In

other words, in relations between states, even if a state gains, it will consider that gain a setback if some other state should happen to gain more.

Within the world of IR scholarship, it seems that a similar mentality prevails. When I consider both Ebru's disappointment over the lack of feedback or idea sharing about research, and Tolga's anger over what he saw as a colleague "capturing" his model, it seems like a key element of what constitutes power for IR scholars, is their ideas. This is of course not a new observation in terms of academia, but it seems to take on a different form in IR—or perhaps in the social sciences in general.

Tolga also suggests that the issue of "ownership of ideas" may be different in IR. When I mentioned to Tolga my idea of comparing IR scholarship to the concept of anarchy, his reply was:

> Yes, you're right it's anarchic. And they haven't discovered state
> sovereignty yet. They don't respect the other states' borders! Maybe
> because in the social sciences it's all about words…they reformulate your
> words, and you can't clearly identify your words, your ideas, and lay
> claim to them (Tolga, interview, December 14, 2002).

In this excerpt Tolga seems to suggest that there may a qualitative difference between social sciences and natural sciences, because in the former, there is an elusiveness to the final product. As he says, "it's all about words." In many of the natural sciences there seems to be a concrete side to knowledge creation. In other words, there is the existence of a successfully cloned sheep, or of a scientific process that can be replicated, or of a medicine that can be delivered. True, the research leading up to the product is sparked by an idea, and this idea and subsequent research must be written up and made public. Therefore there may be a race to see who gets the research done first, but the result is generally accompanied by some substantive element.

In fact, such 'concreteness' of knowledge and truth in the natural sciences has been strongly questioned as well. Notably, Fleck's work on the development of scientific fact (1979) argues that there is no such thing as a pre-existing scientific fact. Rather, such 'facts' develop through exchanges between a community of scientists which he labels as a "thought collective." In the absence of absolute truth, Fleck is able to argue that even such presumably concrete 'facts' as diseases, do not exist in nature, but are constructed by physicians for didactic purposes.

In IR, both the process of thought development and the resulting "truthful" ideas of the IR community, are very much elusive. The results of research in IR may consist of taking a different perspective on an issue, of offering an alternative explanation for why things happen the way they do, or suggesting a new way of conceiving of an old concept. The struggle for new ideas—the more original the better, of course—is a constant one. Where do ideas come from? Naturally, they come in part from interactions with fellow IR scholars, and this interaction raises a touchy issue. In a community in which ideas are power, trading ideas is like negotiating an arms deal between two states in an anarchic world. Both sides want to give enough in order to get whatever it is that they want, but not so much that they feel the other side has gained more.

Tensions between members of the academic community over the sharing of ideas are undoubtedly influenced by the power relations between the involved members. It is possible that tensions over idea sharing may become more intense in relations when the authority is less clear. When authority differences are very clear, for example, in a dialogue between a professor and a student, it seems more likely that an exchange of ideas can occur without either side feeling 'cheated'—even if the exchange is

imbalanced. If the professor, for example, provides more idea input into the dialogue, she may see it as normal due to her greater experience and knowledge, and therefore not feel taken advantage of. If the student provides more input, for example in the case of a jointly published article in which she does most of the work but the professor still adds her name, the student may accept this as natural and proper because of their differences in rank. However, when the power relations between those exchanging ideas is less clearly defined, it seems possible that there will be greater room for feelings of tension. This seems particularly likely to occur between scholars of similar ranks, for example, between emergent scholars, or between scholars of close ranks, such as associate and assistant professors. In both cases, the source of tension over idea sharing can be seen as stemming from a struggle for power between peers or by those seeking to narrow the gap between themselves and their immediate superiors.

In the case of Ebru, she seems to be experiencing the differences between the world of graduate students—in which idea exchange is very much a part of the learning and socialization process—and that of the faculty. In the world of the faculty, it seems that ideas are perhaps too precious a commodity to be shared lightly. For Tolga, his worries about "ownership of topic" and distress over not having yet published something from his dissertation, give further evidence to the argument that IR scholarship remains anarchic. Both of these examples suggest a system in which all actors are trying to take as much power (ideas) as they can, and subsequently all actors are fearful of having their power taken away.

If I try to make further analogies with IR theory, I might expect to find evidence of scholarly attempts to "balance" power. In fact, however, the actual literacy practices of

these scholars give only partial evidence of doing this. In balance of power theory, states

will attempt to find ways of balancing or equalizing the power of strong states. Thus,

weaker states may form alignments against a powerful state, since their combined power

may equal that of the hegemon. If I were to carry over the analogy to IR scholarship, I

might expect to find that co-authorship—a kind of literary system of alignment—was

common practice. Instead, a glance at virtually any IR journal reveals quite the opposite.

With the exception of a couple of journals that specialize in quantitative, large-N studies,

multiple authorship in IR is extremely rare. In a discussion with Tolga about his

publications, I asked him about the co-authorship issue:

> In general, it is rare. I've done it twice and it wasn't a great experience
> either time. In the first case I definitely felt like I had been used by the
> other guy, an American, who wanted to get in a publication about Turkey
> but didn't know enough about the details. Then, since he was the
> middleman between us and the journal editor, he tried to make it look like
> mostly the ideas, the work was all his. The other case was better I guess. I
> basically did it as a favor. The other guy, a Turk, knew the stuff but didn't
> know how to go about getting it published abroad. I could have written it
> alone though, and then I would have gotten more credit here (Tolga,
> interview, December 14, 2002).

It appears that while "co-authorship balancing" may not be terribly common practice,

when it occurs it may in fact resemble certain aspects of IR balance of power theory quite

closely. For example, in both of the cases described by Tolga, I could consider that at

least one of the authors was using the 'alignment' process to balance against those who

were better able to publish by themselves in particular venues or with particular means.

Those others could therefore be considered as more powerful actors. In the first case,

Tolga's co-author aligned to compete against better informed Turkish experts, and Tolga

aligned arguably to gain benefit from the American's contacts with the core journal

editor. In the second case, Tolga's co-author aligned to gain access to means with which

he had no experience. The issue of co-authorship resurfaces in the case of Metin in chapter 6, with particular emphasis on issues arising from co-authorship between Turks and foreigners.

Ultimately, it is not surprising to me that the issue of ownership of ideas arose from my discussions with young, emerging scholars. As young scholars at the start of their careers, they are still likely to be unclear about their particular niches in the various communities, or we might say, their professional identities have not been confirmed. Their ideas of how they want to fulfill the 'possibilities for self-hood' within the local IR and broader IR disciplinary communities may still be developing and changing. As newcomers, they are also the most powerless members of the communities in which they participate, in the sense that they may not have firmly 'laid claim' in their writing to a particular area of interest.

Chapter 5

Strategists, Tacticians, and Novelists

About two or three weeks ago they asked me to come to their TV station and make comment on the Cyprus issues and the Copenhagen Criteria. I accepted . I appeared on the TV for 20 minutes. Later they called me again to see whether I could write an article. What else can I tell them? I'm too busy? No, we keep having these demands from radio, TV, newspapers. This morning they called me from the radio, and they do this every week! Every Monday and Tuesday I go to TRT1 to comment on the weekly issues. What I'm saying is connected to the society, and the media. It's for those connected to the Turkish foreign policy issues. I would love to write on SSCI journals, this is my dream. And I am still working for that, I never lost my dream. But because of these things, I'm also involved in Turkish IR scholars' community. It's inevitable (Ali, interview, November 7, 2002).

J: One more question about your current activities, what you do, you're teaching here...
D: I teach IR theory.
J: OK, and do you participate in any other administrative duties...
M: I am the assistant dean, so lots of administrative duties!
J: That probably doesn't leave you a whole lot of time to do a lot else...
M: No, it does.
J: What else would you say are your activities in terms of academic...
D: I write papers (*laughs*) and then I normally go to one, or at the most, two conferences a year. I follow the ISA conference every year... So in terms of daily life, I teach, I do the administrative work, and I try to do my research.
J: And your professional goals at this stage of the game?
D: Well, it depends. I'd like to write a very good paper on, well, on preference formation of the states when they come to the negotiating table. But that would take about two years to write because it would be a major theoretical paper. Aside from that actually I have achieved most of my goals.
J: Not many people can say that at, approximately 35 years old. That's a pretty satisfying...
D: Yeh, I like the way things have evolved so far...
(Julie and Deniz, interview, March 2, 2001).

Experienced Scholars

In this chapter I present the cases of four experienced IR scholars, who all completed their Ph.D.s in IR between the years of 1992 and 1996, and have subsequently been teaching and researching in Turkey for approximately six to ten years. As the above excerpts suggest, these scholars seem to be more fixed than their younger colleagues in terms of their ideas about where they fit in respect to the local IR, overall IR disciplinary and Turkish societal communities. They do not exhibit, for example, Tolga's desire to balance his participation in all three communities at once, or Ebru's recent efforts to increase her participation in a community she previously cared little about. These experienced scholars have established patterns of literacy practices that identify them with generally either the local IR community and Turkish society, or the core IR community. While their overall professional identities seem clearly identifiable by examining their published research—for example, 'local policy scholar' or 'core scholar of Turkish policy'—these individuals continue to negotiate certain struggles for positioning through and by their literacy practices. In other words, they all have definite ideas about what constitutes the highest possibilities for self-hood as a Turkish IR scholar, and about the most privileged means for achieving these. They therefore strive to make use of the most privileged means available to them to improve how their professional identities are viewed by their colleagues.

These four cases reveal an interesting factor about the local Turkish IR community that was perhaps suggested but not made clear in the cases of Tolga and Ebru. In essence, the four experienced scholars express a very similar understanding about what constitutes the highest possibility for self-hood as a Turkish IR scholar, and in doing so

reveal a divide in the local Turkish IR community. This divide seems to have been sparked in large part by members of their own, middle generation, of IR scholars. In this chapter, therefore, I place considerable emphasis on exploring the ways in which these four scholars seek to assume what are ultimately quite similar professional identities, but how they do so with very different means available to them.

The Strategists

I have chosen to discuss the first two of the experienced scholars in the same section, because their educational experiences and current literacy practices resemble each other considerably. Although certain differences do emerge in the following discussion, the two cases seem similar enough to warrant grouping them under the single title of "strategists." My choice of this term refers to de Certeau's discussion of cultural tools that may or must be used by particular people in particular settings, as outlined in chapter 2. In the cases of these two scholars, the 'tools' or means they are both using to participate in the overall activity of being a Turkish IR scholar, belong to the local or 'safe' territory. In other words, they write primarily for the local community. In the cases in which they do write for an audience outside of Turkey or Turkish IR, they rely largely on the means which the core IR community is most willing to have them use, generally book chapters or policy reports on Turkish issues. These two scholars can therefore be considered as using "strategic literacy practices"

Fatih and Ali are both in their late 30s, and describe themselves as "ambitious" and "confident." Both are from families belonging neither to the wealthy elite nor the very poor working class, but of moderate economic backgrounds that might be roughly considered as lower middle class. Both men attended Ankara University's international

relations program for their undergraduate degrees and received full scholarships from the

Ministry of Education to conduct graduate studies in England. Both completed MA and

Ph.D. degrees in England, and returned to Turkey in the mid-1990s after spending

approximately six years abroad. They are both currently employed at state universities,

and have extensive publishing records.

Ali is very open about his "Anatolian," non-elite background. When asked about

his early education, he begins by describing how he finished primary, middle and high

school—"a normal Turkish lycee"—in his central Anatolian hometown. When

commenting on his lack of English language skills during his undergraduate studies, he

tells how he enrolled in a private English course, but was only able to do so for eight

months because his family was "not very rich." He also seems to be referring to the gap

between elite and non-elite members of Turkish society, and identifying his own position

within these two groups, when he explains the first step of his decision to become an

academic:

> I started to be a diplomat. To be a diplomat, a Turkish representative
> abroad, it is a very interesting and challenging task. But in the later stages,
> say in the middle of my [undergraduate] university education, I
> understood it was very difficult for *us* to enter the foreign ministry because
> of some...obstacles. (Ali, interview, April 1, 2001) (italics mine).

Ali clearly feels a sense of pride in being a person who was able to "pull himself

up" from an underprivileged background, and succeed in the elite arena of academia. He

is very conscious of his achievements, and seems to prefer emphasizing the extent of

those achievements even if that means admitting how he started out in a relatively "low"

position. This general attitude of stressing achievement holds true whether he is speaking

about his social status or his participation in the professional community of IR

scholarship. He speaks of improving his English largely through his "own capacity" and

ultimately becoming "very successful on the exams." He then reports that later, in

England, he had to read "all day, maybe eight hours, just to try to understand" his courses

in IR theory and political economy, but ultimately he succeeded in learning the material

and finishing his degrees.

He also reveals a strong sense of self-confidence when he tells, for example, how

an Australian neighbor at University also had difficulty reading some of the texts that Ali

had been assigned. He reports how this made him feel in this excerpt:

> Then I relaxed. I realized, hey, the problem is not my English, not myself,
> it's the book, the author. So I fought for understanding the books for nine
> months. Towards the end, towards the middle of second term, my English,
> especially reading and following the lectures, was getting better and better.
> By the end of the MA I felt confident that I could go on to the Ph.D. I
> improved my confidence. Especially after passing the exams—and I
> passed all with good results. That gave me a big boost...boosted my
> morale and confidence (Ali, interview, April 1, 2001).

His self-confidence remains evident still. When, for example, Ali explains why he wants

to be considered a part of the core IR community, he says, "it's more prestigious, and I'm

worth it." His words seem to suggest a self image of an "academic Horatio Alger" figure,

who, through honesty and hard work, has achieved success.

On the other hand, Fatih prefers concentrating not on his growth from what he

may or may not have been in the past, but rather on what he is and where he stands now.

When asked in the same way to describe his early education, he chooses to begin with

only a passing mention of his undergraduate institution, and then turns immediately to his

graduate studies in England. When the question is repeated, this time referring

specifically to his general education prior to university, he says only, "my educational

background was with German. I was brought up to speak German." With these responses,

he does not appear willing to talk about his early education and background. Moreover, the way he describes his early "German" education seems intended to give the impression of a long-term, intensive German training. Such training would reflect the type given at the very elite, private, full-immersion German school in Istanbul, rather than that of the normal German classes Fatih actually attended at his Anatolian High School. When describing his own experiences as a young graduate student in England with very little English language training, he downplays any difficulties he likely experienced:

> Well, masters was difficult. But I tell all my students that if your language is not a problem, doing an MA in England is very easy for Turkish students. Because of our training here, we know almost everything. We know much better than the British students (Fatih, interview, March 29, 2001).

In this statement, he implies that he overcame what he lacked in language skills by relying on his knowledge of the field. Moreover, he gives a very positive opinion about the quality of undergraduate training in Turkey as opposed to England. I have heard similar sentiments expressed by other IR graduates of Ankara University's political science department. Their confidence about the quality of their program, seems to be rooted in the fact that their department is by far the oldest of its kind in Turkey, and for years was considered the only serious IR department to study in for people going on to join the diplomatic corps.

When pressed again for details on how he coped with the challenges of his early days in England, he says only:

> I always thought that I learned English while I was writing my Master's dissertation. You have to write to learn. Speaking, daily life, is nothing (Fatih, interview, March 29, 2001).

Here Fatih points to the different challenges between acquiring English for academic purposes and English for general purposes. Ebru raised this issue as well, but curiously their interpretations were directly opposite of each other's. For Ebru, whose university training had been in English at both the undergraduate level and Master's levels, the main challenge upon going to England was to master "daily use English." For Fatih, who had very little English training or exposure to English prior to his graduate studies in England, the real challenge was academic English, which he associates with writing.

Still another difference between Ali and Fatih is their early impression of and interest in the field of IR. For Ali, studying some branch of political science was a natural and deliberate choice:

> I like politics! My family, my friends, are all indirectly involved in political activities. From my youth I was very familiar with political things. For this reason I chose political science. And if you're planning to continue in social sciences, IR is at the top. At that time and still today, it's a very popular department (Ali, interview, April 1, 2001).

Ali expresses in the excerpt both his longtime interest in the topic of politics, as well as his understanding of IR as a highly respectable field to choose. While Ali was both willing and proud to be joining the academic field of IR, Fatih was a far more reluctant member. He even went against the advice of outside 'experts' in his efforts to avoid the social sciences altogether, and study in the hard sciences:

> The last year of my high school we had these American experts who came to my school and made some tests and tried to match our interests in life. IR was one of the areas they recommended to me. In general, they recommended areas that has to do with having contact with people. But I disregarded them. My first choice [on the university exam] was electric engineering at METU. In fact, the first seven choices were all electronic engineering. IR at Ankara University was my eighth choice. So, that...I got it (Fatih, interview, March 29, 2001).

Even after completing his undergraduate studies, Fatih was not convinced about

remaining in the field:

> I didn't want to be a diplomat. That's one choice I made when I
> graduated...but I didn't want to be an academic either. Then this
> scholarship came up from the Ministry of Education. I had a couple of job
> offers in business as well, so I had to choose between a professional life or
> this foreign scholarship. I realized that I had to have English no matter
> what I would do, so I decided to go abroad...not to be an academic, but to
> learn English! (Fatih, interview, March 29, 2001).

In this explanation of how he chose to continue in IR rather than enter the world of

business, Fatih reveals some of the same pragmatism expressed by Tolga. Conversely, in

both Ali and Ebru's cases, their desire and direct intention to enter IR indicate a different

type of connection with their profession. I expected to find indications of the two

different attachments to the field (one of pragmatism, one of genuine interest) in these

scholars' literacy practices. Indeed, Ebru's long time interest in a theoretical perspective

and research agenda that are not immediately likely to win her popularity in the local

community, as well as her admiration for certain "normative" writings in her field, do

suggest a more personal bond with the topic of international politics. Such a connection

between literacy practices and connection to the field may be partially seen as well in the

cases of Fatih and Ali.

In terms of sheer quantity, both men could be considered as having published

extensively in the eight or nine years since they returned from England. A glance at a

recent update of Fatih's list of publications reveals 14 published or forthcoming

monographs or books, and nearly 40 articles or chapters in edited volumes. Ali's recent

publication list cites two published books, more than 20 articles, and nearly 10 book

chapters in edited volumes. He also includes on his resume numerous pieces that he has

translated both from Turkish to English and vice versa, and a partial list of over 15 pieces he has published in local newspapers.

A closer examination of Ali's publications shows that his works appear predominantly in journals or books published in Turkey—though a few of these are actually written in English nonetheless. He has one book chapter in a book from outside of Turkey, and one foreign article—a policy report for NATO. His two books, one a rewrite of his dissertation and the other a volume co-edited with two colleagues, are also in Turkish, and are published by the same local press.

The one possible indicator in his literacy practices of a more "personal" or emotional tie to the field of IR, could be seen in the number of newspaper articles he has published and, perhaps, the number of appearances he has made on local television and radio programs. The newspaper articles in particular are a means with only minor practical value for IR scholars. They neither bring in extra money (as do the television appearances), nor count towards a scholar's official publications. They do, however, allow IR scholars to express their opinions to a receptive portion of Turkish society. I use the term 'receptive' because the audiences for most Turkish newspapers are quite clearly defined, for example, left-wing, right-wing, conservative nationalist, or Islamist. These newspaper articles may therefore be viewed as expressions of Ali's "autobiographical self" or personal identity, more than his professional identity. For Ali, for example, writing in the newspapers has at least two positive outcomes. First, it allows him to freely express his personal opinions on topics he genuinely has an interest in, such as Turkey's strategic foreign relations with Iraq. Writing down his opinions in the manner comes easily to him because, he says, "it's from my head, I don't worry about a literature or

theory." Second, it provides personal satisfaction by making his name available to an audience that may include his family, old friends, and other non-professional acquaintances. For scholars with a more pragmatist relationship with the field of IR, these two personal satisfactions may not be enough to convince them to take the time to make use of this means of literacy practices.

Fatih's publication list is somewhat more international than Ali's, and reflects what he reports as an early career decision in IR:

> When I came back to Turkey after my Ph.D. and looked to the Turkish IR community, I saw that everybody claimed to be expert on Turkish foreign policy. I said, OK, what's the sense to become one of them? So I decided to put my Ph.D. thesis aside. I didn't write anything on Turkish foreign policy for three years. Nothing. I started writing on security issues, and in connection with that I went to the Caucasus...NATO and the Caucasus, Central Asia and the Caucasus. But I didn't write about Turkish foreign policy towards these regions, I wrote *about* Central Asia and the Caucasus. That's a difficult way to establish. When I was established abroad as an expert on Central Asia and the Caucasus, then I became known in Turkey as an expert on Central Asia and the Caucasus. That's another way to become known in Turkey—become established abroad. Then of course many people started to ask me about Turkish foreign policy, so I brought that back, and started writing on that as well (Fatih, interview, March 29, 2001).

In this excerpt Fatih explains the rationale behind his choice to become established first as an expert of a region other than Turkey. He reveals his pragmatism towards the profession in these words, both by choosing initially to study another region, and by his particular choice of Central Asia and the Caucasus. These regions were being scrutinized carefully by Turkey in the era following the break-up of the Soviet Union, and the need for experts to advise the Turkish government and business circles on the stability and potential of various countries in these regions, was extremely high.

Fatih's works tend to be quite evenly distributed between those published abroad and those published in Turkey. Of those published in Turkey, more than half are nevertheless in English, making a total of about a quarter of his work being in Turkish. More than a third of his works are purely about Central Asia and the Caucasus, and the majority of the remainder on issues of Turkish foreign policy. Three Turkish articles and a forthcoming book chapter in Turkish are presentations of certain theoretical paradigms (such as "realism" in particular and "IR theoretical approaches" in general) or concepts of core IR theory (such as 'continuity and change'). While two of his articles have been published in a particular Social Science Citation Index journal, the majority of his works have been published by the Turkish think-tank where he works part-time, or by various other think-tanks in Turkey or abroad. His three forthcoming edited books are being published by two non-university presses in England and the United States, both known for their focus on books about the Middle East.

Fatih's pragmatic attitude towards the field and his position within it comes through in various ways in his literacy practices. He first chooses to specialize in a topic that has no personal interest or connection for him, but which he considers to be practical for giving him an edge over his peers. His publication list also includes multiple examples of articles or book chapters that he has published once in English and again in Turkish, a very efficient strategy for boosting the total number of his publications. Finally, his publishing record includes no works that could be considered as 'unnecessary' but personally satisfying, such as newspaper pieces. Rather, it presents a methodical plan to construct a publication record that no one—for example, a jury deciding on associate professor advancement—could immediately find fault with. It

includes publications in both Turkish and English, and a combination of policy reports and abstract theoretical pieces. It has three indexed journal publications, and at least one single-authored book (the remainder of what he lists as books are either volumes he has edited, or shorter monographs he has prepared for various Turkish policy think-tanks.)

As I wrote in the introduction to this chapter, the interviews with Ali and Fatih were the first to clearly reveal an interesting divide in the local Turkish IR community. I later came to find references to the divide, or indications of being aware of it, in all of the study participants' interview transcripts. However, it seems most appropriate to introduce the divide along with the cases of Ali and Fatih, because they both made the connection between the divide and the locating of different generations of IR scholars on either side of it. Thus it was through a consideration of their cases that I came to see how a shift in the priorities of the local IR scholars was begun largely due to the influence of middle generation scholars.

The divide in question exists between, on the one hand, an older generation of IR scholars, who are generally from elite social backgrounds, and whose scholarship is largely concerned with diplomatic issues and historical reports of Turkish foreign policy episodes. On the other side are members of a new generation of scholars, generally foreign trained, who, in one way or another, all attempt to locate a theoretical emphasis in their scholarship. My attention was first drawn to this divide by a particular phrase that repeatedly showed up in all the transcripts, which basically read, "yes, I write primarily about Turkey...*but* I do it in a theoretical way..." Ironically, this discussion often led to participants unknowingly naming each other as examples of what they themselves were *not*, while at the same time giving identical descriptions of what they felt that they *were*.

Ali reveals his efforts to distinguish himself from first his older colleagues and then his immediate peers in the following way:

> The scholars in Turkey before the 1990s focused on Turkish foreign policy issues, or some other empirical, national issues...case studies. They were all historical issues. But when I went to the UK I saw that there's a theory, a theory of IR! Nowadays in Turkey I see that, like me, some other scholars have started to teach theories of IR. They have started to look at IR from a theoretical perspective. This should be taken as a positive contribution made by the new generation of IR scholars. Of course, even today there are some scholars who don't deal with the theory, in fact, I think the majority of IR scholars in Turkey focus on issues which are concerned with Turkey or Turkish foreign policy, or with those issues in the middle East...Balkans...so, field studies. Most scholars don't pay attention to theoretical analysis. This is normal, most of the time we are occupied by national problems and issues. We are seen as specialists, and many people come to us and ask us to write articles on issues of Turkish foreign policy. Because of this I am very sad to say that I am one of those who concentrated on issues of Turkish foreign policy. At the moment, most of my writings are about issues of Turkish foreign policy. *But*, what I try to do even I am studying and writing on these issues, I try to look at the problem in a theoretical perspective. I try to put my writing in a theoretical framework. I try to shape the article into a theoretical perspective (Ali, interview, April 1, 2001).

I have included this entire long passage because in it Ali establishes a pattern of describing the local IR community and his place within it that I would later find repeated by several of his colleagues. Looking at the beginning of the excerpt, Ali first identifies himself explicitly as belonging to a particular group of Turkish IR scholars, which he names as the "new generation of IR scholars." He also distinguishes this group with two primary qualities, the first that they "teach theories of IR," and the second that they "look at IR from a theoretical perspective." He then provides a description of the other group, which he considers to constitute the majority, whose scholarship is defined by its failure to "pay attention to theoretical analysis" and by its concentration on "field studies" of Turkey or neighboring regions. The final move in this passage is Ali's explanation of

how he, even though his works are "field studies" as well, nevertheless belongs to the

first group because of the theoretical perspective he employs in his analyses.

If we look at transcripts from Fatih's interviews, we can observe how he makes

virtually the same arguments as Ali. He first adds definition to the understanding of who

constitutes the two camps of Turkish IR scholars by drawing a general distinction

between his own generation of IR scholars and the previous generations:

> IR teaching began in the 1950s in Ankara University. The people who
> were teaching there were imported from diplomatic history or
> international law. When I came back from England in 1996, I found the
> tradition was still the same. When you talk to people in Turkey, they
> wouldn't admit this, but you have to look at how they teach in their classes
> or how they write their books. When you look at those, you'll see that
> most of the IR writing and teaching in Turkey in the early 1990s was still
> using the tools of diplomatic history, or history, not the social sciences or
> its research tools (Fatih, interview, March 29, 2001).

Here he begins to define the older generation. He focuses on their reliance of research

methods from the disciplines of diplomatic history or history, rather than the social

sciences. He goes on to describe the current situation of IR scholarship in Turkey, and

then to clarify what he sees as the difference between his own works and those of his

peers:

> And, this is still very much the problem. Turkish IR is still very much
> teaching and writing from a historical analysis perspective. Look at the
> books, it's mostly about Turkish-Iraqi relations, or Turkish-Russian
> relations between 1991-2001. It's not grounded in theory, no intention to
> do that either. [ ]. My own writings tend to be divided now between
> Central Asia/Caucasus and Turkish foreign policy, *but* I try to distinguish
> myself. I didn't write, and I still don't write and I don't like reading
> historical, not analysis, historical accounts about Turkey's relations with
> another country. The difference between a couple of guys and myself and
> the rest, since we have this IR theory understanding, since I'm educated in
> the Anglo-Saxon teaching style, I start by developing a big picture and
> drawing a framework, then start analyzing the issue. Whereas in Turkey,
> the general tendency is to come to the conclusion early. You just say, this

is it. Nobody asks you, how did you get there? (Fatih, interview, March 29, 2001).

Although there is a slight variation between Fatih and Ali's descriptions of the 'other' group of IR scholars, clearly the distinction they have drawn between their own scholarship and that of their colleagues, is the introduction of a theoretical perspective into their analyses. This reflects what I see as an overall shift in understanding among the Turkish IR community about what can be considered as the most prestigious activity for an IR scholar. The shift is towards the idea of "doing theory" as being at the top of the list.

Not unlike in the rest of the world, prestige in the field of Turkish international relations before the last decade was connected with entering the foreign service and becoming a diplomat. For those who remained in academia, the prestigious route to take was to produce work to advise the diplomats and policy makers. In Turkey, the vast majority of people involved with the academic field of international relations prior to the 1990s tended to belong to a select group of the elite. Professors in international relations were generally diplomatic historians or actual retired diplomats, and students were often the children of diplomats, who had experience living abroad and could speak foreign languages such as French or, to a somewhat lesser extent, English or German.

In the 1980s however, increasingly, students from outside of the elite began joining international relations programs. This introduction of non-elite students led to a dividing of the student body between the majority elite and the small but growing minority of non-elite students, as revealed in this excerpt from an interview with Tolga:

> In the classroom you could always tell who was who because the aristocrat kids all sat together. There were only a few of us kids from poor

backgrounds and we always sat together too (Tolga, interview, June 21, 2002).

As the cases of Ali and Fatih show, the in-coming non-elite students were at a tremendous disadvantage to advance in the field of diplomacy, first due to a lack of foreign languages. As Fatih says, "it was practically impossible [to become a diplomat] because of my weak German language, and I didn't know French or English." They were no doubt further disadvantaged by a lack of connections within the diplomatic circles, as implied by Ali's reference to the "obstacles" that faced "us." As a weak minority group that was beginning to grow in numbers, it is unsurprising that the non-elite students began to look for new ways of trying to prove themselves within the field. They needed to find ways in which they could compete, and means they could use to compete with, that were not within the exclusive control of the majority elite.

At the same time, in the mid to late 1980s, increasing numbers of undergraduate students including those in IR, were being sponsored by the Ministry of Education and later by the High Education Council, to go abroad for graduate studies. Once in England or North America, these students were exposed for the first time to the world of IR theory and, particularly in the North American context, to an understanding that producing theory was the highest role to achieve in the discipline. For the non-elite Turkish student of IR returning to Turkey, theory provided an area in which they could compete and excel, even without family connections or extensive foreign language abilities. Even better, they could support the idea that they were doing something even more important than diplomatic work, because the argument that theory was most important came out of the core. In other words, even the elite of Turkish IR could not dismiss easily its importance since it was a perspective that came from the west.

With this understanding, it is not surprising that the IR department of Middle East Technical University—a university traditionally home to more students and faculty of non-elite backgrounds—would attempt to distinguish itself early on and still today as being the only IR department in Turkey that really teaches IR theory. The most widely known textbook of IR theory written in Turkish is also the product of METU faculty members. When this textbook was published in 1996, it was the product of ten or so IR scholars, most of whom had returned to METU from graduate study abroad just a couple of years earlier. They were the first representatives of the new generation of IR scholars I have just described, and this book can be seen as laying the groundwork for the "theory/non-theory" divide that was beginning. The book's eight chapters take the reader through an intensive introduction to leading ideas in IR theory, from the basic paradigms of realism and idealism, to the newly popular perspectives of constructivism and critical theory.

According to Fatih, who is not one of the authors of the book but who knows many of the authors, their goal in putting this book together was "to try and prove to people that they knew theory." I would agree that a part of their goal was no doubt to prove to "those in the know" (essentially, to each other) that they too knew about and could write about IR theory. I would argue, however, that a significant secondary goal was to put theory on the front page of Turkish IR scholarship for the first time, and thereby signal the beginning of a new way for IR scholars to excel in the Turkish IR community. If I were to draw again on terminology from the field of IR, I might say that their move represents a grand scale literary example of balance of power. To accomplish the balancing of power against the older, elite generation of IR scholars, Ali, Fatih, and

their middle-generation peers, have made clever use of the means of another activity system (core IR). Although middle generation members would argue that with this means they are participating primarily within that core system, their appropriation of the core means has in fact proven more useful to them within their local Turkish IR community. By appropriating means from the core, these primarily non-elite young scholars have been able to shift the balance of power in the local IR community away from its elite, diplomatic roots, and towards an emphasis on 'theorizing' about international politics. While this use of a "core means" suggests that de Certeau's title of "tactician" might be more appropriate for these scholars than "strategist," I would disagree. Although these scholars are using a means from the core, they are using it to compete on relatively "safe," local grounds. While I do see definite resistance within these moves, the scholars using them are still operating within their 'home' territory, not the 'enemy' territory of the core.

There is no doubt whatsoever that the newly returned scholars of the mid-1990s were successful in their second goal of balancing against the traditional IR elite. It is difficult to find an IR scholar in Turkey today who will not in some way attempt to explain how his or her works incorporate a theoretical perspective into their analyses. Most significantly, the prioritizing of "theory" has become so widely accepted, that scholars of both elite and non-elite backgrounds try to claim their position as theorists. As the chapter presenting established scholars illustrates, this powerful new counter-pole in Turkish IR scholarship has affected even those older scholars who were educated in the "pre-theory" era. After showing how the desire to "look theoretical" reveals itself in the

remaining middle-generation participants, I return to this issue in chapter 6 and attempt to

clarify what, ultimately, my participants mean when they think about "doing theory."

The Novelist

> I like writing. It's a therapy for me. Anything, not just writing academic
> stuff, I just take notes for myself even...If I had more talent, I'd have
> loved to write fiction. But I don't have that talent (Sevda, interview,
> October 20, 2002).

Unlike the cases of Ali and Fatih, Sevda is an example of the more traditional face

of the Turkish IR community. The daughter of a United Nations diplomat, Sevda was

born and raised in Afghanistan, and in fact never lived in Turkey until she was in the 8th

grade. After then spending three years in Ankara, her father was again posted abroad, and

Sevda went on to finish her high school studies and early university education in the

United States. When her parents then returned to retire in Ankara, Sevda realized that if

she didn't return as well at that point that she would "probably end up living [in the US],"

something that she "really didn't want to do." Instead, she returned, settled in Ankara,

and completed not only the last two years of her undergraduate studies, but her MA and

Ph.D. as well at Ankara University's department of political science. At the same time

that she was doing her graduate studies at Ankara University, she also worked as a

research assistant in the IR department of another Turkish-medium state university,

where she is now employed as an associate professor.

Sevda's initial entrance into the field of international relations was, on the one

hand, virtually a given. With her diplomatic childhood, she recalls that IR was "an

interest area that I just followed...I came to it naturally." She of course thought about

going on to work at the UN like her father, but gave up on the idea because "reading and

writing was much more interesting to me." She admits that ideally she "would have loved to write fiction," and that in general, she "like[s] writing. It's a therapy for me. Anything, not just writing academic stuff, I just take notes for myself...the process of writing is of interest to me." Given however, what she calls a "lack of talent" in writing fiction, the idea of continuing in academia became clear to her from early on.

After observing the almost frenetic publishing efforts of the previous participants, Sevda seems strikingly laid back about this aspect of her academic career. Despite her professed interest in the process of writing, her actual publication output is far below that of many of her peers. Various explanations can be offered for this. First, there is the role of her institution of employment. Unlike those participants employed at private universities, Sevda does not need to publish extensively in order to become promoted or to get pay raises. The state university where she works is a second-tier school, in which no one would actually say anything to her if she never published anything at all. Having met the minimum requirements to achieve her associate professor title, she only needs now to sit back and wait five years to receive her full professorship. Second, with her personal background, it is likely that money is not as pressing a factor for Sevda as it may be for some of her colleagues. The official associate professor salary is nearly $900 a month. While this amount may be restrictive for someone with a family and children to raise, it is quite a reasonable salary for a single person who may even have the advantage of additional family support. Therefore, Sevda is not facing a serious need to seek outside employment in a private university (which might require more frequent publications) or to produce reports for private companies or for the government. Her degree of comfort coming from the two factors I have suggested, is evident in her own explanation for why

she remains separate from the publishing rat-race, as she says, "that's how I live. I do what is of interest to me. I don't do anything if I'm not interested in it. I guess it's a personality thing."

I also suspect Sevda may be affected by the working conditions at her institution. When I visited her office, I observed that there was no computer. I also observed that her university has very limited library facilities, with virtually no IR journals available in English. Considering how dependent all of my other participants seem to be on their office computers and or libraries for maintaining close contact with the core community, this inconvenience must certainly be a constraint on Sevda's literacy practices. It also probably explains in part why she is unable to give a clear picture of her reading practices in IR, saying only that, "I can't do any studying here. But what I do read, I read in English, since I'm interested in theory. I don't follow regularly any periodicals in particular."

Yet another aspect that may explain Sevda's interesting literacy practices may relate to the theory/diplomacy discussion of the previous section. First, to look briefly at Sevda's literacy practices, we see that her publications are largely in Turkish—such as a book version of her Ph.D. dissertation—with a few in English for local publications in Turkey, such as pieces for the quarterly journal of the Foreign Ministry or the journal put out by Ankara University's political science department. In terms of topic or focus, like her colleagues, Sevda also stresses her personal connection with the theory side of IR scholarship. During our first interview, as I looked at her Ph.D. dissertation, I began to translate the title into English, and the following exchange occurred:

J: Hmmm, "Turkish-American Relations…"

S: The Turkish-American side of the relationship is a minor, practical side of the thing. The first half of the book is about epistemology and how important American and Anglo-Saxon theory is for the study of IR itself. It's really about epistemology, and the theory in IR in general.

J: Since your dissertation, have you followed up on your research on Turkish-American relations at all? What is your area of specialty now?

S: Theory is always my main interest area. Theory of social science, IR, stuff. So it's theory (Julie and Sevda, interview, February 9, 2001).

It strikes me that in trying to locate and prove herself among the polarized world of Turkish IR that was forming just as Sevda was herself emerging in the community, Sevda displays a complex mix of identities that may in some ways also be contributing to her limited number of published works. As I wrote at the beginning of this section, Sevda clearly fits the image of the traditional face of Turkish IR. She is the daughter of a diplomat, speaks fluent English, and spent the majority of her youth living abroad. Had the split in the local IR community not occurred in the 1990s, it would be easy to have imagined Sevda comfortably ensconced in her department, writing when—if—she wanted on whatever topic she wished, enjoying the comaraderie of similar colleagues and the respect and admiration of her students.

Instead, she found herself a fresh Ph.D. graduate in a new world of Turkish IR. As a member of the elite, she was forced to compete against peers who were largely non-elite, self-proclaimed "theorists". Her comparative advantage in terms of language had been equalized by her peers' years of graduate study abroad. Moreover, their foreign degrees gave them an advantage academically over her local degrees. She was too young to simply relax into the traditional approach to Turkish IR, but, having completed all of her studies in a department that did not even offer a single IR theory course, she probably

found it difficult to know exactly how to compete in the "theory" world. It struck me as

interesting that she, as someone who graduated from a department known for offering a

very traditional approach to IR, should nevertheless be so interested in theory. When I

asked her about this, she responded:

> Well, studying at Ankara *Siyasal* I always thought there was something
> missing in terms of philosophy of things. I know the facts, but why? How
> come I have to come to this conclusion, not that one? I always had trouble
> with positivism, without knowing it. I thought there was something
> missing. It was a great education, history, great professors, but I needed
> some type of a blanket underneath to make sense of the whole thing. So I
> started thinking about IR, and then IR theory (Sevda, interview, February
> 9, 2001).

With this explanation she is first making clear her alignment to the new school of Turkish

IR. While she is unwilling to criticize the "great education" of the traditional school, and

in fact later on assesses the "classical program" as being "better, broader" than IR

programs in the United States (or their copies in Turkey), she still feels the need to show

that she belongs to the new generation. Without the particular training in IR theory to

support her position however, she locates herself within the only theoretical discussion

available to her, that of broad questions of epistemology and philosophy that the classical

program does cover. Thus, for example, her Ph.D. dissertation and a subsequent article,

deal with the epistemological concepts of different philosophies of science (empiricism

and rationalism) rather than actual IR theories, such as dependency theory, democratic

peace theory, or balance of power theory.

In terms of actual IR theory, she does not appear to be very familiar with either its

different schools or scholars. When she refers to IR theory, she does so in general terms,

such as "I teach IR theory" or "I'm interested in IR theory," without naming specific

scholars or ideas with which she agrees or disagrees. On one occasion she does refer

specifically to reading "English school writings." In my follow-up question to this

statement, I accidentally misidentify a prominent scholar as belonging to a particular

group of IR scholars known as "the English School":

> J: When you say "English School" do you mean people like Ken Booth
> and Ole Waever or are you referring to British writers in general?

> S: Ken Booth. I like their periodics (Sevda and Julie, interview, October
> 20, 2002)

In her response she fails to correct my mistake (Ken Booth, though Welsh, is not a

member of the "English School" of theorizing, while Ole Waever, a Dane, is a member),

but refers to my mistake as though it were correct. Moreover, the English School theorists

do not have a particular journal of their own, though they have numerous books and

journal articles to their credit.

Turning back to Sevda's literacy practices, the result of her conflicted identity

between the new and old generations of Turkish IR scholars, can be seen both in the

nature of the few works she has published, and possibly also in the simple fact that there

are few to examine. When shown the model from chapter 2 and asked to identify which

activity system she is most aligned with, she unhesitatingly indicates the first one: "Core

IR. I try to write, my way of looking and seeing things, is not a local one. I guess because

of how I grew up. Standards, universal standards are the standards for me" (Sevda,

interview, February 9, 2001). Nevertheless, the pieces she has produced have clearly

addressed a local audience.

Like many of her colleagues, she may be actually trying to participate and

compete in the local community, but is aware that to do so she must emphasize her

interest in and alignment with the core theoretical community. The problem is that even

at the local level, the only means accessible to Sevda are those of traditional IR—in other words, the quarterly publications of the traditionally-oriented IR departments of Ankara or Gazi Universities and policy publications of the Turkish foreign ministry, such as the quarterly report entitled "*Perspectives*." Unfortunately for Sevda, these are no longer the privileged means of the local community.

It is probably very difficult for Sevda to "be theoretical" and thus be competitive even among peers who are more theoretical in rhetoric than in practice, because she simply has not had the exposure to theoretical literature in IR. Her lack of training in IR theory combined with her working conditions, may go far in explaining why, therefore, she has not produced extensively for either the local or core IR communities.

The Tactician

The last of the scholars in the group of experienced scholars is Deniz, a female associate professor working in a leading English-medium private university. I have given her the tentative title of 'Tactician' here, again drawing on de Certeau's categorizations, because Deniz has been operating on unfamiliar, foreign territory ever since she was a young girl, and continues to do so in her academic literacy practices as a successful IR scholar. Deniz grew up in Istanbul and began her English education early. At the age of 11 she entered completely English-medium education at Robert College, a private school founded in 1864 and run by American Protestant missionaries until being taken over by the Turkish government in 1970. The school has nevertheless continued its American style training and maintains a fully foreign faculty. After an intensive preparatory year of language training, she and her classmates followed an American curriculum for the

remainder of their middle and high school education. With American instructors and an American curriculum, Deniz notes that most of her "socialization" was in an American cultural context and that, in fact, she knows that culture "better than the Turkish culture." Her undergraduate university studies were made at the English-medium Bosphorous University, in the department of political science. Though she had hoped to study some branch of engineering, her results on the university exam placed her in her 4th choice department—international relations—which she had included only because her mother felt it suited her. Even when she later went to the United States to pursue an M.A. in international relations, she confesses that her decision was probably more to "buy time and space" from a personal relationship that was heading for inevitable marriage, rather than out of a pure desire to further her studies in the field.

Due apparently to her strong educational training in English and in the field of IR, her early graduate education experience in the United States was "no problem whatsoever," and upon completing her M.A., she was offered a scholarship to remain on for Ph.D. studies. By then fully convinced she would become an academician, Deniz quickly and decisively wrote her dissertation on the topic of possible correlations between domestic change in Turkey and external pressure from the European Union. She then returned to Turkey in 1992 to full-time employment at a leading private university.

Deniz is both organized and practical in her academic literacy practices. In terms of her academic reading, she is able to state precisely how she regularly checks four particular topics (European integration, European identity, constructivism, and war and peace and bargaining) in the web of science web page to keep up with new publications in these areas of greatest interest to her. She also points out that in addition to her

subscription to *International Studies Quarterly*—which comes with membership in the

North American based International Studies Association—she consistently notes the

contents of six certain journals. These six are all prominent and respected North

American and European journals focusing on general international relations, European

politics, and conflict resolution. When writing, she reports that her first and final

manuscript drafts are often significantly different from each other, and that they undergo

multiple revisions. On the other hand, due to her comfort with using the English

language, she does not find it necessary to seek outside editing or proofreading

assistance.

Her publishing record of the last ten years reveals her to be a prolific writer, with

her sights firmly set on the Western publishing world. She is influenced both by a

personal understanding that to be a serious academic means being part of the scholarly

discussion in the core IR world, and by the publishing requirements set by her institution,

which awards raises and promotions solely for Social Science Citation Index (SSCI)

publications. Thus for her, publications in other venues, or in Turkish, can be considered

as just "time costs" without any "return." It is of course impossible for me to speculate

which came first, Deniz's desire to be considered a serious academic (and thus her single-

minded efforts to publish abroad) or her success at publishing abroad (and thus her

current image as a serious academic). In either case, she is now very much dismissive of

wasting time on practices that address the local Turkish IR community or Turkish

society, as the following exchange reveals:

> D: There is an opportunity cost of writing in Turkish. When you publish in
> Turkish, the people that would read that are only the Turkish audience. So
> you may find a very good revelation, a very good theory, a very good
> argument, but you publish it in Turkish and then two years later somebody

in the United States writes the very same thing and publishes it in *International Organization* and he gets all the citations and your argument goes down the drain. It can't reach the audience you want it to reach.

J: what about things outside of academic publishing, I mean, some of your colleagues are on TV all the time…

D: No no no! that's not a good choice.

J: Why not?

D: Because the same opportunity cost. There are two paths we must choose when we come out with IR. You can either work in your office, serious, and produce, try to make conference presentations, whatever, or then you can be a public figure, constantly on TV and writing in the newspapers. The second path is much easier. Once you get in populist life then you can get a lot of media coverage. And I don't find that serious academic work. So that I don't do. It's also time wasting. If you spend your time writing a piece for a newspaper, you're borrowing time from your other activities (Deniz and Julie, interview, March 2, 2001).

The above excerpt clearly shows both her pragmatic approach to her work, as well as describing two distinct roles she sees for the Turkish IR scholar. Unlike Ali, who achieves personal satisfaction by using the means of the Turkish society activity system (newspapers and television) or Tolga, who feels a personal responsibility to contribute to his country's development, Deniz views these activities as "time wasting." Therefore she has never published in any kind of local sources, nor has she appeared on local television. Both in her own assessment and from looking at her produced works, Deniz has quite clearly aligned herself with the core IR activity system. Moreover, her relationship with this community seems to be a fairly smooth one. The filter can therefore be considered as thin, since she wishes to be a part of the core IR activity system, is greatly encouraged and provided with incentive to do so by her employer, and is comfortable in using the means appropriate to that system. I find this last point the most interesting to pursue further.

When I look closely at the means that Deniz uses and how she uses them, I am reminded again of de Certeau's discussion of consumption and his idea of some groups being obligated to use cultural tools belonging to more powerful cultural groups. In other words, if we look at Turkish IR scholars, they may be forced to use the means of the more powerful core IR community. What is particularly interesting in Deniz's case is that it is not a clear-cut case in terms of understanding where she stands in relation to the tools she uses. Throughout my talks with her, she made it very clear in many ways how she perceives of herself as being virtually more American than Turkish. She places considerable emphasis on the importance of her high-school socialization:

> Your formative years are from 11 to 18. I went through these at Robert College. So the things that you learn there is, well, you learn what the Americans at your age are doing rather than what the Turks at your age are doing. We were reading all the American newspapers, books, literature. I've always thought everything is determined by high schools. They are trying to change the curriculum here at (names university), trying to give these people a core curriculum, make sure they read Salinger and things like that. And I told the people planning this that these are things that children need to be exposed to in high school. When you have these people at 18 or 19, I think the case is lost. You're not going to transform their way of thinking (Deniz, interview, March 2, 2001).

In addition to her own explanation of her socialization, she also names only American scholars when asked whose work she admires; she notes that it is "much harder" for her to write in Turkish than in English; she describes Turkish conceptualizations of IR as "very weird;" and she consistently uses the pronoun "we" when describing American scholarship.

Although Deniz clearly does not picture herself as a typical "marginal" group member using the foreign tools of the powerful core, two questions emerge: does she see herself as a member of the elite group and therefore as using tools that "belong" to her,

and does the core see her as belonging to them or to a marginal group? Interestingly, the answer to the first question is no. First, despite her deep involvement and association with the core IR discipline, Deniz is also very much settled into life in Turkey. She and her husband have tied their academic lives for the last ten years to Turkish universities, and wish to remain in this country. She maintains an active interest in Turkish politics, has strong ties with her family here, and wants to raise her own children in this country. It seems to me that the evidence given in the previous paragraph is more a case of Deniz trying to clarify her personal identity within the elite side of the Turkish IR community (as well as Turkish society) than of trying to show professionally that she is actually a part of the American one.

When I look at her published works I see that they do all address the core IR community. Her research is published solely in North American or British journals or by North American presses. Nevertheless, whether by desire or necessity, the topics remain purely about Turkish issues, such as Turkey's role in various organizations or Turkey's relations with certain regions. This topical specialization suggests that the core community continues to view her as a part of that marginal group known as Turkish IR scholars. All of the above seems to suggest that if there is any conflict in Deniz's literacy practices, it is at this level of personal identification—as a "different" (=successfully accepted by the core) member of the Turkish IR community, or as an actual member of the core.

I mentioned at the beginning of this section that I gave Deniz the title of "tactician" to reflect de Certeau's distinction of tactics involving actions carried out on so-called enemy territory—in this case, a Turkish scholar using core tools. I apply the

title to Deniz cautiously however, since it implies the use of tactics for resisting against

the powerful group's dominance of the tools. In this case, the confusion over Deniz's

relation towards the powerful group makes it very difficult to label her moves as

resistant. In fact, her choices seem to bear no resemblance to resistance, and much more

to assimilation. Interestingly, the result of her moves seems to be that in fact, by acting as

a "tactician" and using the tools or means of the core community, Deniz's greatest

success is within the activity system in which she claims to have no interest: the local

Turkish IR community. As a result of her tactical moves she has reached the top of her

field in Turkey. She holds a prestigious position in a leading private university, earns a

very comfortable salary, and can enjoy the sense of being different from her colleagues

because she achieved all of this the "hard way" (via the means of the core IR

community).

In a sense then, like her colleagues, Deniz is trying to distinguish herself in the

local community by using her connections with the core one. In addition to using the core

means and thus make herself known as a 'theoretician' in Turkey, she also, I believe, is

trying to make clear her differences from the non-elite theoreticians locally. Thus, she

tries to make clear that her connection with the core goes both to her theoretical training

and works, but also to her elite middle school education and socialization. Like Sevda,

Deniz is an elitist in the new world of Turkish IR. Unlike Sevda, Deniz has the North

American training in IR to be able to compete nonetheless.

Chapter 6

Torn Allegiances and Policy Makers of the Old Generation

It is always a problem of time. I'm busy here in the department, and then there are always newspapers calling, or I'm being dragged off to the television... (Metin, interview, July 2, 1999).

Turkish publications and books in Turkish are also quite useful. I used to neglect this, but now I see the reason to do it...I wish I had written for the newspapers too, it's a powerful weapon... (Nihat, interview, October 26, 2002).

I would have, for example, probably have published in more prestigious journals if I had the time...if I were in my own tempo and time...and at my own speed, then I could probably have formed more about my agenda, looked for publishing spaces, journals... (Levent, interview, July 6, 1999).

J: What do you see as being the main activities of being an IR scholar?
M: I think, teaching, administrative activities, researching...publishing, which is a part of research. But there is something fascinating with being an administrator. It's not a very pleasant job. It takes a lot of your time, and it is sometimes very tiring. Routine decisions but sometimes crucial ones. It takes your time and energy and sometimes you don't have enough time for research or even sometimes for teaching. So that's the unpleasant part of it. But the pleasant part of it, especially, for me at the beginning, when the department was being organized, was the development of the programs, because your contribution may be original, you can do something novel, and make something different from the other programs in Turkey, and even from those in Europe. Our program is very different from those in Europe, probably except perhaps in Germany, our program is more up to date than those in continental Europe. It gives you some satisfaction, you are doing it better than the others! (Julie and Mehmet, interview, November 22, 2002).

Established Scholars

The group of participants in this chapter is made up of those scholars to whom I refer as "established." The four scholars whose portraits are presented here all completed their Ph.D.s prior to 1986, and have been teaching and researching in the discipline of IR for more than 15 years. They can thus be said to belong to the "old" generation of

Turkish IR scholars, however, as the following sections illustrate, they have not remained unaffected by the prioritizing of theory within the field. In fact, the insights of the most senior of these scholars, Mehmet, helped me to clarify further what is meant by "theory" and "theorizing" among Turkish IR scholars. Unlike the emergent scholars, who are still searching for their niches, or the experienced scholars, who are self-assured in their positions and are busy fulfilling them, these established scholars seem to have entered a period of self-reflection. They seem to be looking back over their careers, questioning some of the choices they made and some of the choices that may not have been available to them. They are quite open about some of the changes they wish they could have made in their academic literacy practices, and in two cases, reveal how they have been taking actions to try and realize these changes. Their words represent the accumulation of many decades of experience and training, and provide an appropriate conclusion to these portraits of Turkish IR scholars.

The Policy Maker

As you know, I'm not doing theoretical work. Nobody's doing theoretical work in Turkey. I'm rather doing policy oriented work, but I use IR theories (Mehmet, interview, November 22, 2002).

The first case to be presented here is that of Mehmet. He is the most senior of the participants in this study, and can be said to represent a very successful picture of traditional style Turkish IR scholars. His early education in English began at the age of 11, when he entered a private middle school. He returned to Turkish education in university, as a student of the faculty of law in Ankara University. After law school he

reports that he went to London to "polish my English for a year or so," and then to
Switzerland, where he completed his Ph.D. in law at the University of Lausanne. Upon
returning to Turkey, he was accepted as an instructor and then assistant professor in the
department of Public Administration at Middle East Technical University in 1971.

With his training in law, Mehmet was limited in the number of courses he could
teach in the department of public administration. He describes how he 'became' an IR
scholar in the following manner:

> I taught international law, but I began to research on IR and strategic
> studies. I began to read...American IR books, some policy oriented books.
> They appealed to me, so, I liked to work on IR. At the same time I also
> started to work with the foreign ministry as a consultant (Mehmet,
> interview, March 15, 2001).

After approximately five years in the department at METU, he went to work for another
five years at Bosphorous University. During the "hectic" period of the early 1980s—a
reference to the political tension and subsequent military coup of 1980—Mehmet chose
to leave his teaching position to serve as director of the private Foreign Policy Institute in
Ankara. In the late 1980s he was invited to participate in the designing of one of Turkey's
first private universities. He developed and organized the department of international
relations for this institution, and 15 years later remains as the department chair. The
department is widely considered as one of the top IR programs in the country.

After more than 30 years in the field, Mehmet's record of literacy practices is
extensive. He has two single-authored books (one in Turkish and one in French), and
three edited volumes on Turkish foreign policy. He has more than 15 chapters in edited
books, and more than two dozen articles in journals. It is interesting to note that his
earliest works are of a more 'theoretical nature', and are related to his doctoral

dissertation topic about the United Nations. They are also very limited in number, and are published in local venues—though not necessarily in Turkish. They include such topics as a work on the logic of "strategic behavior," and another on the role of international organizations in the resolution of internal conflicts. There is a parallel between Mehmet's literacy practices upon first returning to Turkey, and those of the mid-generational scholars when they returned from abroad in the 1990s. In both cases, they showed a preference for appealing openly to their theoretical training as a literacy strategy. For Mehmet, however, the theoretical emphasis in his works ends quite quickly. At the time of his move from a teaching position to head of the Foreign Policy Institute, the volume of his publications increases dramatically, and the nature of their topics becomes exclusively about Turkish foreign policy. They include numerous articles and book chapters on Turkey's relations with NATO, the Middle East, and Europe, as well as works on certain domestic changes in Turkey and their influences on international conditions, It is also at this time that we see some shift in venue towards western presses and journals—including at least three articles in indexed policy-oriented core journals and several chapters in policy books published by respected university presses.

The picture of Mehmet's literacy practices that emerges is one that is apparently free of conflict or double-binds. He identifies himself and his goals as being aligned with the "policy side of the core IR community." It is clear from looking at his published works that the means appropriate for participating within this sector of the core IR activity system are very much accessible to Mehmet, and that he feels comfortable in using them. He has been invited to give lectures and participate in seminars at dozens of leading policy research institutes and think-tanks in western Europe and the United

States, from the Sudosteuropa-Gesellschaft in Munich and the Geneva Center for

Security Studies, to the Heritage Foundation and the RAND corporation in Washington.

He has contributed chapters to more than a dozen books on Turkish or Middle Eastern

security questions, edited by core scholars and published in the United States or Western

Europe. He has published numerous articles on Turkey's security policies in core policy

journals, such as *Foreign Affairs*, *International Politik*, and *Politique Etrangere*. While

the majority of these articles are written in English, there are also works in French,

German and Italian

Mehmet's specification of being a part of a particular side of the core IR

community makes it worthwhile to explore a bit further the full picture of core IR and of

Mehmet's vision of that community. Mehmet's own view and personal understanding of

the discipline of IR both locally and in the west begins to come through in his description

of what was important to him when he was given the task of designing the department of

which he is now chair:

> First of all, I thought the program should be similar in terms of general
> principles and foundations to those in America. Second, which would be
> dissimilar to those in America, was that in Turkey there was an important
> shortcoming at that time, and that was the absence of area studies. In 1988,
> in the period between 1988 and 1991, was a critical period in world
> politics. The USSR was in a period of collapse, and we in Turkey had very
> little notion of the Soviet states. We also didn't have any institutes in
> universities doing serious research on area studies like Russia or the
> Balkans. So we began to develop *real* area research. We hired people
> specialized in areas, people who knew the language... The difference
> between this department and those in the west, is that there everything is
> separated from each other—history, various area studies, IR... we didn't
> have that luxury, so we did our best to make a balance all in one
> department (Mehmet, interview, March 15, 2001).

Mehmet's valuing of area research is in striking contrast to Ali's criticism of area or

"field" studies. Mehmet presents a rational explanation of trying to establish a department

that would combine a variety of approaches, from history, to area studies, to IR. These departments are generally kept completely separate in North American universities, or at least area studies and IR are separate majors under the umbrella department of political science. Unfortunately, according to more than one professor I spoke with informally in Mehmet's department, the problem with trying to balance everything is that all sides feel they receive inadequate attention. The history and area studies professors in the IR department complain that their students have to take IR theory courses that are meaningless to them, and the IR professors complain that they aren't allotted enough course time to give their students a proper IR training. Mehmet is very much aware of the complaints of his faculty, but remains convinced that the combined method is the best under the circumstances.

While discussing further the nature of IR in the west, Mehmet goes on to emphasize the split in the core IR community between theoreticians and policy specialists:

> There are many people in the west with a law background or history background, working in places like RAND corporation or Brookings Institute, policy oriented people. They are very bright scholars, but they are not involved in theoretical research, and they don't like it...they hate it. It's to that degree. There's a kind of a gap in the US between those people who consider themselves core IR and the policy oriented people. In fact, both parties consider themselves the core. The policy oriented people say they're the core because they assist the policy making process. So we are more influential, whereas you are dealing with something irrelevant (Mehmet, interview, November 22, 2002).

When I consider Mehmet's words, I realize two things. First, the gap he is describing in the United States/core can be considered as an advanced stage of the gap that has developed in the local Turkish IR community. I see the gap as "more developed" in the west because, in particular, the theory side has had time to crystallize what it means to be

an IR theoretician. In the west, the scholarship of IR theoreticians contributes to a discussion of abstract models, frames, theories, concepts, designed to better understand various questions of international politics. Although it has been rightfully argued that such abstract theorizing can never actually be removed from the context in which the scholar works (Ayoob, 2003), the publications of the core theorists nevertheless can be distinguished by their lack of reference to particular countries or cases. Consider, for example, such key theoretical works as "Man, the State, and War" by Kenneth Waltz, or "Turbulence in World Politics: A Theory of Change and Continuity" by James Rosenau. As I will discuss later in this chapter, the concept of "doing theory" in Turkey, on the other hand, is still very undefined.

Second, it is clear that, with his words and with his record, Mehmet is identifying his own position as one of trying to straddle the gap at the local level. His personal and professional past reveal him very clearly as a part of traditional IR in Turkey, and his own assessment of his writing is very clear when he states, "I'm doing policy oriented work." Nevertheless, when asked about his reading practices, he reports the following:

> M: I mostly read American publications, and some western European. Mostly I read theoretical books, especially published in the US. I also read policy oriented reports, coming mostly out of the US, Germany, and Great Britain.
>
> J: are there particular journals you subscribe to or read regularly?
>
> M: theoretical ones, I mostly read *International Security*, *Security Studies*, and I also from time to time look at the journals published in the UK, like *International Studies*, and sometimes *International Organization* and the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (March 15, 2001).

The journals Mehmet names are all core theoretical journals. According to the Social Science Citation Index's "impact factor", which is measured by the total number of

citations a journal's articles receive, these journals are all among the leading core theoretical journals. It seems as though the theory push in Turkish IR is so strong that even someone in Mehmet's position feels the need to avoid being labeled as a purely "policy oriented" scholar.

I found that the most interesting issue to emerge from my interviews with Mehmet was his blunt declaration that "nobody's doing theoretical work in Turkey." Upon further probing, I realize that he has applied a core understanding of "theoretical work" when he makes this judgement: "Pure theoretical work, which is to be published in theory journals, original theoretical work...no work like that is being done here." By "theory journals" he is referring to the select core journals such as *International Organization, International Security,* or *International Studies Quarterly.* He goes on to describe critically the work that is being passed off as 'theoretical work' in Turkey:

> Sure, there are some people doing theoretical work in Turkey, but they don't publish it in good journals. Most of it is published in Turkish, and they are borrowed works. They repeat what the theory people are saying in the US. You see, they are translations (Mehmet, interview, November 22, 2002).

Mehmet's words as well as the earlier discussions on theory vs. policy, raise several issues that point to a need for defining what it means to "do theory" in the local Turkish IR context. Mehmet suggests at least two levels of definition. The first of these could be called "constructing theory," and would correspond to the pure core concept of designing original theories, models, frameworks for explaining events or phenomena in international politics. He also suggests a much 'lower' level of theory work, which is simply writing a piece in Turkish that translates ideas that have been already expressed abroad. This would include works that are basically overview presentations of a

particular theoretical paradigm or perspective, and which are then translated into Turkish, generally to make them accessible to the average Turkish IR student.

I would propose at least two more levels of what it means to "do theory" as an IR scholar in Turkey. The first, which can be located just below Mehmet's category of "constructing theory," is to conduct empirical studies of Turkey, but to do so with a goal of developing better accounts of Turkish politics in general, or even better accounts of regional or world politics. Such an approach to research studies is similar to what Tolga spoke of as his personal goal as a theoretician. The next level of theorizing is the one, which I believe most people actually mean when they say that they "apply a theoretical framework." This is not actually what I would call "theorizing" at all, but basically refers to anyone who leads off his or her research writings with some kind of literature review, rather than jumping straight into the description of a particular case or event. Interestingly, there is perhaps one more level of what qualifies as "doing theory" in the Turkish context, and that is simply to be an instructor of an IR theory course, regardless of one's own writing, reading, or involvement in the discipline.

If I were to apply these same standards to my own field, and to this dissertation in particular, I could not claim to be doing "top level" theorizing, or "constructing theory." I would restrict that category to theoreticians whose works I draw on in my dissertation, like Bakhtin or Vygotsky. My use of a theoretical framework based on various concepts of these and other theorists, and my subsequent introduction of a model of "activity system filters," would seem to qualify this work as a "second level" theorizing, similar to what Tolga speaks of. I also include a brief review of the literature, placing this work in a

context of similar studies, and thereby placing this dissertation into a category similar to what I believe many Turkish IR scholars mean by theorizing.

Relating this discussion of local levels of theorizing to Mehmet's point about the theory/policy gap in the core, suggests that the local gap will not fade, but will only become more defined. Pure 'core style' theorizing along the lines of exactly what happens in the core is not likely to occur soon in Turkey or anywhere outside of the core for various reasons. As Fatih points out, the training from high school onwards in analytical thinking does not yet exist in Turkey. More important, as Tolga reminds, there is the issue of context in theorizing: "You won't see an Alexander Wendt in Turkey, because Wendt was writing from Wisconsin!" In other words, even if a high level of theorizing does begin to take place in Turkey, it will not be the same as theorizing by core IR scholars. Tolga's point is that even 'pure' theorizing is affected by the contexts in which the theorist operates. The questions theorists choose to speculate on, the ways they choose to do so, and the interpretations they give to the answers they find, are all affected in multiple ways by the theorists' own backgrounds and the social worlds they interact with.

The equivalent of "pure core theorizing" in the Turkish context, may develop to resemble what Tolga goes on to describe as his personal goal of creating theory from the Turkish or regional contexts that will in turn be cited and used by core researchers. If indeed this understanding of "theorizing" grows—and I believe that with more young scholars returning from North America it will—it will set the boundaries for "true theorizing" in Turkey. As theorizing does in the core, this local theorizing will likely represent the most privileged means in the local IR community. Among those scholars

who write policy oriented pieces, I believe that applying some type of theoretical framework will become the standard, and will no longer provide ammunition for self-identification and superiority.

The Semi-contented

Next in this section are the cases of Metin and Nihat, both professors of IR in leading state universities. They can both be considered as very successful in their field, yet I have classified them, and they concede to being, only "semi-contented" with the works they have produced. As the following discussion will try to show, however, the conflicts they experience in their literacy practices occur in different ways and largely within different realms.

Metin

Although Metin was raised in Turkey, he is in fact half-Swiss, and considers French as his mother tongue. His first exposure to English began after primary school when he entered private middle school in Ankara. With the exception of one year at a Turkish-medium university, his English training continued through high school and the completion of his B.A. in management at Bosphorous University. After his undergraduate studies he traveled to Sweden, where he worked and "bummed around", and then on to England where he got a Masters degree in International Relations from Kent University, and a Ph.D. from City University in a "curious department" called System Science. He recalls that the department was:

> A relic of the '50s, 60's, which was trying to take behavioralism beyond
> social sciences and argue that it was the common denominator to all

systems, be them technical or natural or human systems. Within the department at the time there was a group sort of focusing on international political systems. The only sort of requirement that was put in front of me was that I would have to do a work that would have a distinct theory element to it, and a quantitative analysis. From that came out a theoretical and quantitative analysis of how, and why, or through what processes, governments change their perceptions of the Palestinian problem from being a refugee problem to one of self-determination, from a technical/humanitarian one to a political problem. That was published as *The PLO and World Politics* (Metin, interview, July 2, 1999).

After finishing his Ph.D., he spent three years in Switzerland, teaching at a branch of an "obscure...but very ahead of its time" American university, before returning in 1989 to assume a position on the faculty at Bosphorous University. While in Switzerland he had become involved with a refugee studies program. Thus, when he needed to decide on an area of specialization on which he could build up his publications, it occurred to him that almost no work had been done on refugee movements into Turkey. This became his first area of expertise, and even today he is no doubt correct in his self-assessment as "*the* person to approach when it comes to Turkey's refugee policies and immigration policies." He admits he is very proud of this recognition.

His work in this area led him to his research on the topic for which he is best known internationally, the Kurdish issue in Turkey. In the mid-1990s, Metin worked with a British colleague on a project funded by the United States Institute of Peace to write a book on the Kurdish question and Turkey. The work that resulted was the first of its kind to come out, and remains one of the most cited and acclaimed analyses of the situation. Following that book Metin co-authored a second book with a foreign colleague as well as writing "lots of chapters and articles on aspects of Turkey's foreign policy." Again, many of these pieces dealt with the Kurdish or refugee issues, as well as with Turkey's relations with the European Union or the Middle East.

Metin's impressive publishing record as well as his frequent invitations to teach as a visiting scholar at various leading universities in the United States would seem likely to satisfy any academic. Upon closer observation, however, Metin reveals deep dissatisfaction with these and other aspects of his career. In terms of his writing and research, his work seems to be dictated by forces almost outside of his control. He clearly shows his unhappiness that he "never get[s] a chance the way in which an American academic would in specializing, but specializing not only on the actual substance of the topic, but on the theory and the theoretical discussion in which that occurs." As an example of what he means, he picks up and then quickly tosses down an article on his desk, a piece that he has recently written on Turkish citizenship and immigration policies, a piece which he seems to dismiss when he says:

> This is purely empirical and descriptive, a product of my own research,
> and it has no link to a body of theoretical literature on notions of
> citizenship. I never had a chance to look at it and I seriously doubt
> whether I will have a chance to do it (Metin, interview, July 2, 1999).

When I consider the complete picture of his published works, two points emerge that suggest that Metin's unhappiness with his scholarship may be applied to works beyond the piece on his desk. The first is that many of his works can be considered as what he calls "empirical and descriptive." These include reports on the status of certain refugee groups, historical accounts of legal precedence, and descriptive overviews of a particular issue, such as Turkey's relations with the Middle East. These works are all published by international sources, and were generally produced at the request of those foreign sources. A second indicator of how Metin feels his works are considered is evident in a proportion of his articles, papers, and book chapters that include in the title the phrase: "A Turkish Perspective." In other words, the importance of Metin's work for outside,

core publishers, is based on his representing of a national perspective, not on his own critical analysis as a member of the international IR disciplinary community.

The issue of assigning particular roles based on nationality comes through when Metin discusses his discontent in relation to the Kurdish book he wrote with a colleague. In that book, he says, it was the foreign colleague who "did most of the work on sort of notions of ethnicity, ethnic groups, nations, nation-states, minorities, etc." while he was left to the "nitty-gritty" empirical work. In other words, the foreign colleague was given the task of writing the theoretical sections of the book, drawing connections with the larger area of studies on topics of ethnicity, while Metin was left with discussing the facts of Turkey's Kurds. This bitterness is reminiscent of Tolga's feelings of having been "used" by his American colleague. Ironically, Metin explains, the only work he has done that has "some element of conceptual arguments" has been his material about Turkish foreign policy, but that is the work he has produced "least enthusiastically". Basically, he explains, he has "*had to* write about Turkish foreign policy" because of the demand, not out of his own interest.

Similar feelings of discontent come through when we are talking about his teaching load and he begins making comparisons with what it is like for him when he works in or visits other places:

> I think when I'm in Europe I feel that I am in a better position than they are because of the way that the continental system works in terms of, say, articulating my points and getting them across. But in the States what happens, I think, at least what happens in my area, you become good for area studies. So I do get to teach at good universities in the U.S., but it's all on Middle Eastern politics. And when you get invited to conferences, etc., it's not for the contributions that you might make to theory or conceptual thinking, but more to sort of case studies, or area studies, or sort of empirical descriptive analyses and that, to be honest, hurts. That hurts (Metin, interview, July 2, 1999).

In addition to the obvious personal frustration and pain this causes him, he also believes

that this compartmentalizing of foreign scholars is detrimental to the quality of

knowledge-making within the discipline:

> What I have noticed over the last few years, is that I find colleagues in the
> United States slipping into generalizations, and theorizing that is really
> remote from what one might consider as the reality out there. And that
> really is at times almost scary. I find that occurring among academics of
> very high standing in the U.S. and what happens is that maybe the lack of
> very in-depth knowledge of maybe cases or areas, by and large leaves this
> group ignorant of all this, and they get involved in an exercise that
> reinforces each other. And when, say, I wouldn't want to sound big-
> headed, but say someone like me comes in and I throw a question at them,
> it really generates a moment of silence, and we can sense that the whole
> thing is thrown off balance. There is a moment of insecurity there, but it's
> only a moment or two and then they push on (Metin, interview, July 2,
> 1999).

The first note of interest in this excerpt of an interview with Metin, is his criticism of core

scholars' possible ignorance of cases or area studies. This argument would suggest that

the North American system described in the previous section of this chapter, of

separating various aspects of IR studies into different departments or majors, might be

detrimental to the overall education of the students. On the other hand, we have seen

evidence from the example of Mehmet's department, that a combining of approaches in

one program can be a very delicate balance to keep. Obviously, the issue of how best to

train IR scholars is one that warrants further discussion. Fortunately, a new publication

(launched in 2001) by the International Studies Association, entitled *International Studies

Perspectives,* includes the first section in an IR journal devoted entirely to the teaching of

IR. With the introduction of this new forum, issues such as the ignorance of area studies

among some core IR programs (or the ignorance of theory among some periphery ones)

may begin to gain more attention.

The second point of interest in Metin's quotes, is how, by recounting his personal experience, he gives evidence to support a criticism that has been made by various IR scholars, that the discipline of IR suffers by being dominated by American scholarship. While works by Hoffman (1977), Holsti (1985), or Waever (1998) make very eloquent arguments about the negative effects of core hegemony in the discipline, Metin's words may leave a more powerful impact. His words not only express the affective side of being excluded from a part of the core discussion, but also present a Swiftian image of an overgrown creature, shaking off an attack from a smaller creature, and then blindly "pushing on" in its own ignorance. His words may encourage more IR scholars to consider critically what they can do to promote core-periphery dialogue on a wide range of topics.

Unfortunately, it is not only the force of what we might term this "core deafness" that prevents Metin from researching and writing in ways that would be more satisfying to him. First there are the extremely heavy work requirements of being both a professor in and department chair of his IR department. He points out that he is often required in one semester to teach two or more "prerequisite courses," with 150 or more students in each. Preparing the course material is a time-consuming and difficult process given the scarcity of library supplies, not to mention the burden of correcting mid-terms, papers and final exams for so many students. (It should be noted that in the Turkish university system, professors are required to personally correct all assignments, and are forbidden from passing this duty to research or teaching assistants.) Second, there are the economic realities of life in a large city, which scarcely match the salaries paid to Turkish professors at state universities. After our first interview, Metin, like many of his

colleagues, began teaching adjunct courses at a private university for financial reasons. He made this decision reluctantly he says, because he realized it would take even further time away from his research, but he felt it was necessary financially. Finally, there is the lack of serious support from the university for those scholars who challenge themselves and attempt to publish in more prestigious journals, or in what might be perceived as more prestigious genres, such as indexed journals or books published by university presses. As Metin notes, in Turkish state universities "if you publish, no one sort of slaps you on the shoulders, if you don't publish no one slaps you on the face either" (Metin, interview, July 2, 1999).

Despite his heavy workload, Metin had spent well over a year, prior to our first interview, working to set up a new journal of international affairs. The journal, which has since become active, is published on-line, but attempts to maintain the kind of high quality standards generally associated with serious academic journals from North America or Western Europe. For example, article submissions are subject to blind peer reviews by discipline specialists both inside and outside of the United States. This very ambitious project, of which Metin is one of the founders, provides an interesting element when I analyze his overall literacy practices according to the theoretical framework.

Looking at Metin's activity system filters, it is clear that his "core/U.S. IR filter" is thick in the sense that he is very much conscious of what is going on in that system and places a great deal of value on being a part of it. However, he is blocked from full participation in that system by constraints placed on him by his local systems and also by the fact that members of the core system consider him ineligible to use certain means. This "ineligibility" extends to the oral level, in terms of his participation in discussions at

conferences, as well as to his exclusion from writing theoretical articles or theoretical portions of co-authored books. The core has forced him into a certain niche, and allows him to participate within boundaries, or, in other words, allows him access to only a particular set of means, primarily works about Turkish policy. In consideration of the discussion about theory vs. policy in the core, Metin is allowed to use the means of core policy, which focus on particular case studies such as Turkey. He is not allowed to use the means of core theory. Nevertheless, the means that he does make primary use of are published abroad and in English, and thus, still stem from within the core system.

Metin's local IR community filter is also thick, though not so much by personal choice. Because of his conscious selection years ago to specialize on a virtually un-studied topic, he is now the leading expert within the Turkish academic community on issues of refugees and immigration. This position means that requests for written works, regardless of which activity system they come from, ultimately get mediated through this filter, and in turn contribute further to his stature in this community. One other element that makes this filter "thicker" in his consciousness is his unhappiness over having written very few works in Turkish, thereby not making use of one of this system filter's means. He explains his not having written much in Turkish as stemming from his inability to operate academically in any language other than English. In other words, while the means in this system are not restricted to him by outside forces, his own limitations or sense of limitations make some of them less accessible.

In terms of Metin's Turkish society filter, I sense that its "thickness" has increased over the last few years, and for reasons similar to that of the local IR community filter. When we first spoke, Metin reported not making use of any of the available means within

the third system except when "dragged" to the TV stations or accosted by newspaper reporters. Increasingly, however, this filter seems to be 'intruding' into his literacy practices. This in part occurs due to the topic of some of his research--the Kurdish issue. This topic was, and remains, both highly important in Turkish society, and also arguably still understudied, due to its sensitive nature. Metin is probably a more well-known figure in Turkish society than he would necessarily care to be, meaning that requests for his works/contribution are very frequent.

A unique aspect to Metin's overall literacy practices is his outright creation of a new mediational means, in the form of setting up a new journal (see Appendix D for a sample table of contents from the journal). Of the cases presented here, this is clearly a unique example of what might be called a strategy (or tactic) of resistance. Although I have used the titles "tacticians" and "strategists" for some of the other participants, it was problematic in their cases to argue that their tactics or strategies were chosen out of a sense of resistance. In Metin's case it seems much more plausible to do so.

It is still difficult, however, to classify whether to call Metin's move a strategy or a tactic of resistance since it occurs neither obviously in "enemy" (core IR) territory nor on secure (Turkish IR) territory, but rather in a nebulous middle ground--in this case the internet. By observing the core's standards of academic excellence and in other ways playing by the core's rules, but still welcoming and even showcasing the contributions of non-core scholars, he may truly provide a valuable service in improving core/periphery understanding in the discipline.

Metin's literacy practices exhibit considerable contradictions and double binds. Although he is clearly a leading figure in the Turkish academic community, he is not

entirely content with this position. His primary goal is to create a professional identity of a serious, analytical academician, and to also be recognized by theory-minded core academicians for being like them. Unfortunately, the activity system in which the cutting-edge theoretical debate within his discipline occurs blocks him from contributing in the way he would like, and squeezes him into contributing in other, limited ways. At the same time, though his interest lies elsewhere, his stature and position within his more local activity systems require him to contribute a lot and take much of his time, further preventing him from doing the type of work he would like to do. His case makes clear how conflicts can arise. There may be conflicts in situations when there is a desire to be active within a particular activity system but a lack of means. Conversely, there may be conflicts when there is an external imposition to be active in a particular filter, but the individual has no interest in that filter. For Metin, the two scenarios seem to have merged, leading to his even greater discontent.

Nihat

Nihat is the son of a doctor, and spent his early childhood in a small city of central Turkey. At the age of 12 he was sent to Istanbul to a German boarding school, and from there went on to study IR in the political science department of Ankara University. For Nihat, the study of IR was clearly a personal choice:

> I went to Ankara University in 1976. It was a politically motivated choice.
> I was also politicized, and I decided to deal more exclusively with politics,
> to become a real revolutionary! Also, I didn't need a very high grade on
> the exam to get in. In fact, my grade was high. I could have become a
> doctor, anything, but I chose to go there (Nihat, interview, July 6, 1999).

Despite his interest in the field, his original plans did not include becoming an

academician. External reasons however, such as a sister living in the United States, led to

his continuing on to complete an M.A. and Ph.D. abroad. Even after finishing his Ph.D.

he admits that he was torn about what to do:

> Even after I finished my Ph.D. I didn't know what I was going to do. I
> didn't think I'd like teaching, and I was fed up with research somehow. If
> I'd had the opportunity I could have become a journalist or a diplomat.
> But after such a long time…(Nihat, interview, July 6, 1999).

Ultimately, however, he expresses some degree of satisfaction with his job:

> Well, it turns out this job is much better than any other, compared with the
> private sector. At least you have lots of holidays (Nihat, interview, July 6,
> 1999).

When Nihat speaks of his own politicization, his connection with the discipline of IR

seems to include an emotional element like Ali's or Ebru's interest in the topic of

international politics. However the indifference he reports for actually carrying out the

required activities of the profession (teaching and research) and his selecting of holiday

time as a primary positive element to the job, indicates a shared pragmatism with Fatih or

Tolga.

In terms of Nihat's literacy practices, he, like in the case of Mehmet, quite openly

focuses on topics of Turkish foreign policy, or regional issues of Central Asia. His

publications consist primarily of articles in western policy-based journals or policy

reports for either local or foreign organizations and think-tanks. He does not have the

extensive list of chapters in edited books that many of his colleagues do, and admits that

for much of his career he focused on journals because he didn't "know anyone who

would invite chapters from me." In terms of his luck with getting published in western

journals, he says this about his efforts:

> I kept trying journals, sending in piece after piece, and eventually they got published. Some got in good journals, some in not so good ones. One thing, the more I got refusals from a specific journal, the more I tried. I still try with some…*Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, Orbis*. I want to publish in them because, for whatever reason, they're considered big in Turkey. I don't think they deserve it because they're not really academic journals. Anyway, these three have never accepted my works, but I'll continue trying (Nihat, interview, July 6, 1999).

This excerpt reveals more than just a sense of Nihat's personal characteristic of stubbornness (associated, he suggests, with his being a capricorn), it also gives some initial clues about his views of Turkish IR and how he sees himself within the Turkish IR community. By identifying these policy-oriented journals as "not really academic," Nihat is confirming his recognition of the privileged status of theory in the discipline. He also points out that these journals are "considered big in Turkey," which is an acknowledgement of the priorities of his (slightly older) more policy-oriented generation of IR scholars. By adding the slightly sarcastic remark, "for whatever reason," Nihat again signals his criticism of the policy world, and aligns himself with the young theorists of Turkish IR.

Despite his belief that there is a prejudice among certain editors of journals against manuscript submissions coming from authors with "strange, foreign-sounding" names, he does not express anything like the feelings of Metin in terms of a glass ceiling for non-core scholarship. Rather, he seems to view his personal experiences with editors as a case of "strange things happen," and speculates as to whether a particular editor had some anti-Turkish prejudices. In general, he seems to see the acceptance process as a very subjective one in which foreigners and core scholars alike could benefit or suffer, but that his own personal experience with publishing has not been terribly difficult. In terms of local demands on him to publish, he says that he "didn't have to work hard, and

yet still easily satisfied the requirements" (Nihat, interview, July 6, 1999). In terms of his

own desire to be a part of the core IR community, I also see a "thin" filter in the sense

that he has been able to publish his research in the very core journals that he rates as

being the best for his topics.

Nevertheless, I classify Nihat as only semi-contented, for a couple of reasons.

First, there is the issue of how content Nihat actually is with the full picture of his own

scholarship. He clearly believes that he could have worked more:

> Working and teaching in Turkey is not competitive. Not like in the US. So
> you lose something. There isn't much pressure here. My potential was
> greater than my current situation, I know, but I don't worry about it
> (Nihat, interview, July 6, 1999).

Second, there is the interesting change from when I first spoke with Nihat and our

last meeting more than three years later, in terms of his feelings towards the local IR

community and the value he places on being accepted within that community. In our first

meeting he maintained a very distant position from his Turkish IR colleagues. He

reported that he had "no interest in publishing here" and that as a consequence he was not

"well known" in Turkey. He criticized local scholarship, saying:

> In Turkey there are no standards. It's all about who you know. There are
> so many people who publish here, anyone can. I don't want to be just
> another one of them (Nihat, interview, July 6, 1999).

Three years later at our last interview he expressed similar sentiments about certain local

journals, "I wouldn't want to publish there because anybody can do it. I don't want to

publish in places these people publish." On the other hand, he had come to view the local

community in a slightly different manner:

> Turkish publications and books in Turkish are also quite useful. I used to
> neglect this, but now I see the reason to do it. I'll have a book out soon,
> mainly a compilation of my works written in English, about the Cyprus

issue, things taken even from my dissertation. But it's useful. I wish I had written for the newspapers too. It's a powerful weapon, and it makes you more immune from the bad people (laughs) (Nihat, interview, October 26, 2002).

It is with this reference to the "bad people" and ultimately to issues within the local IR community, that signaled to me Nihat's lack of contentment with his professional position.

It is clear from my conversations with and observations of Nihat that as he has become one of the established members of the local community, he has gained a greater consciousness of the 'political networks' within Turkish IR, and a greater desire to be positioned strongly within them. He agrees that this change is at least in part related to political struggles within his own department. Just after our first meeting in 1999 he lost out in a bid to become chair of his department, thereby failing to replace the man who had held the position for more than eight years. At our last meeting, he spoke about continuing his attempt to "overthrow the regime," but expressed his regrets about his slim chances because the current chair was very connected within the local IR community and the university administration. He continues to believe that publications in good journals in the West "give you prestige locally" and help protect you from those who want to "undermine" you. Nevertheless, he has come to believe that they are not enough to help you truly gain power in Turkey because they do not bring you widespread name recognition. Thus he has begun shifting his interest towards addressing the local community, but faces some stumbling blocks due to his lack of local connections.

Split Allegiances

The last of the professors in the established category is Levent, who has taught in

the IR department of a leading state university since 1978, and served as chair since

1994. As a student, Levent did his undergraduate work at Middle East Technical

University in the Political Science department (international relations did not exist at that

time as a separate department at METU), but with a focus on international relations. He

then took several graduate-level courses in economics before being sent abroad on a

Fulbright scholarship to the University of Southern California, where he studied for his

Ph.D. in International Relations. In terms of his language and disciplinary preparation for

graduate study in the United States, Levent recalls that he "was ready", and that he "didn't

have any difficulty". Early on at USC he enrolled in a class on the theories of

International Relations that was being taught by a leading scholar in the discipline. As

Levent recounts his experience in that class he notes that he was the only foreign student

in what was a very intense and difficult course:

> I remember every week we did a lot of readings and then each week we
> are supposed to write a five page essay. We wrote about twelve or
> fourteen essays. The grade did not come until the end of the semester so
> we had no idea about how we were doing. I remember I didn't have a
> typewriter for anything, I was hand writing, but most were typing. It was
> difficult, he was really pressuring us to read a lot and write (Levent,
> interview, July 6, 1999).

When the grades were announced, Levent was given the highest grade in the course--one

of just one or perhaps two "A's" awarded. This surprised both him and the professor, who

was, Levent believes, unaccustomed to having foreign students do so well in his class.

Also surprising to others, not only did he differ from other foreign students by being so

successful at IR theory, he also did not take a single course on Middle Eastern politics.

His comments about this decision to avoid courses in Middle Eastern politics remind me in part of Tolga's explanation for why he avoided studying Turkish politics. Levent explains that many students took courses focusing on their home regions because these were relatively easier for them. Rather than relax in this manner, Levent wanted to use his time at USC to study topics and issues that were unknown to him, even if these proved more difficult.

He went on to work closely with the aforementioned professor for his qualifying exam in IR theory, on which he was also extremely successful, and finally for his dissertation, which was about the impact on Turkish foreign policy of direct investment by international corporations. Showing that even the established group of scholars is not exempt from the need to prove a theoretical connection in their scholarship, Levent admits that the topic of his dissertation was about Turkey, "*but* it had a more theoretical perspective" (Levent, interview, July 6, 1999). While he was still in the course of writing his dissertation, a friend was appointed chair of the political science department of a leading state university and invited him back to begin working there. He has remained there since then, with the exception of a year as a visiting scholar at Princeton University.

Levent now teaches graduate and undergraduate courses on IR theory as well as on Turkish foreign policy. He proudly points out that the IR department in his university is more focused on theory than other Turkish IR departments:

> We focus more on conceptual parts of IR rather than policy--or we
> combine the policy side with the theoretical component. When I think
> about it in terms of theory, in IR theory Realism has been the predominant
> thing used, and in most American universities, especially in conventional
> universities, there has been too much focus on the Realist paradigm or
> conceptual understanding. In our department we look at the Realist
> framework but we also look at other frameworks and critical approaches.

> Here we take a more pluralistic approach, look at all IR theories, trying to criticize the views (Levent, interview, July 6, 1999).

In this excerpt, Levent not only distinguishes his department from other ones in Turkey, but even proposes that his is superior to many in the United States, because they have tried to break free from an over-emphasis on the Realist paradigm. He gives the credit for his department's broad theoretical approach to his own efforts and those of his younger colleagues.

When the conversation turns to publishing in International Relations, he points out that it is difficult for "outsiders"--whom he defines as not only people from outside the United States but also those from second or third class universities *in* the United States--to make contributions to the theoretical discussion taking place in the most prestigious IR theory journals. He speaks of a certain "network of scholars" in the United States among which papers and ideas circulate, and in which the real theoretical discussion in International Relations is shaped. Moreover, as a member of the non-core, he admits that:

> It is not easy to write in theoretical literature...to contribute...so most outsiders, even if they have some formation and background in traditional IR theory, write in different fields rather than in IR theory...most write on Turkey and on Turkish foreign policy and more practical fields where it's easier to make contribution, academically speaking (Levent, interview, July 6, 1999).

With these words, Levent acknowledges the reality faced by so many of his colleagues, that for many Turkish IR scholars, the easiest and most accepted means for contribution is as a Turkish expert.

In terms of his own work, he too has been "publishing less and less on IR theory and [has] been focused on Europe, European politics, Turkey's relationship with Europe,

on more concrete matters." He is quick to point out that he does his writing "in a theoretical manner", but while focusing on the Turkish case. Most of his work is written in response to requests to write chapters for edited volumes, a fact which seems to elicit some discomfort in him, as the following excerpt from our talk reveals:

> L: People find me or come to me and ask me and I write chapters in different international books. Each year I do one or two papers. I have my own agenda, but my agenda is also set by these different scholars writing on Turkey, Turkish foreign policy, Turkey's relationship with Europe. Since I don't have much time to publish I like the work because easily then I can publish.
>
> J: To what extent do they determine what you write about?
>
> L: They don't determine what I write, but if I...I would have, for example, probably have published in more prestigious journals if I had the time and if they were not asking me to publish, you know? And if I were in my own tempo and time...and at my own speed, then I could probably have formed more about my agenda, looked for publishing spaces, journals...but I don't have the time and there is this demand. I work according to that demand...there is always some demand...(Julie and Levent, interview, July 6, 1999)

In this exchange, Levent expresses a pained expression similar to Metin's admission that exclusion from the theory discussions "hurts." Levent's regret over not being a part of a higher level of discussion in "more prestigious journals" is less direct than Metin's, but it still comes through in his repeated statements of what he "would have done" if he had had time, or if he demands were not being made on him to do something else.

Levent is a man who, among Turkish academics, enjoys a definite position of prestige. He has considerable power within the political structure of his institution, and among Turkish academics he enjoys the respect that comes from over twenty years as a faculty member at the Turkish equivalent of Harvard or Yale. Moreover, his own academic record--graduate from METU, Fulbright scholar, Ph.D. from USC under the

supervision of a well-known IR scholar--would surely place him among the stars of IR scholars not only from Turkey, but from any country. Yet when we discuss his writing and the publishing record that has resulted, Levent seems to feel the need to make excuses. He clearly recognizes that the elite of IR scholarship belongs to that tight network of scholars in the U.S., who produce and debate the dominant theoretical discussion via a handful of highly selective IR journals. Levent, on the other hand, a man who beat out all the Americans in his first IR theory course and who remains proud of his connection with the theoretical side of IR, has never published in English on anything other than Turkey-related topics. The reasons for his publishing record seem to be mainly ones of time and easy accessibility. Given the demands of academic life, it is perhaps unsurprising if a scholar should choose to rely solely on means (in this case, book chapters in edited volumes on Turkey) that do not demand much effort and still satisfy professional requirements.

Levent also publishes fairly extensively in Turkish, and usually on the same topics as his English works. While the topics of his works remain unchanged according to language of publication, he reports that other aspects of his writing do change:

> There are organization, style changes, argument...I mean, I have similar arguments in both Turkish and English, but the level of analysis changes. Here you have to touch more on Turkish domestic issues. One has to be more sensitive to internal arguments, so you give them more reference. But when you write for a more international audience they don't know much about the internal...and here I give more references to Turkish scholars, I mean, for the international audience I will give reference to some of the more influential Turkish works but I don't go into detail, they're not interested, so I cite mostly English sources. In general, when I write for the Turkish academic audience, they *know* about Turkey and the European Union and I don't have to tell the more introductory parts, so I try to have more analysis, rather than look at the facts and so on. When I'm writing for a more international audience I have to be more introductory (Levent, interview, July 6, 1999).

His other major publishing project in Turkish is a joint effort with some of his colleagues to produce a three-volume set of books on International Relations theory. The first volume came out in 1996 and was, when I first met Levent in 1999, in its second edition. This first volume, he says, attempts to offer "both a comprehensive and critically challenging view of IR theories from the traditional to the post-modern and in between" (Levent, interview, November 22, 2002). Despite some criticism, such as that presented earlier in the case of Fatih, the book is now being used extensively in Turkish universities where the language of instruction of Turkish.

Looking at these examples of Levent's experiences publishing in Turkish, it strikes me as interesting that, when compared with his works in English, his most analytical and perhaps academically challenging work is being done in Turkish. The pieces he produces in English, on the other hand, generally play into the core's stereotypical perception of what a Turkish IR scholar can be expected to produce: facts and history about some aspect of Turkish foreign policy. In other words, like Metin's work, Levent's publications are almost exclusively book chapters in foreign edited books about Turkey or Turkish foreign policy. With these works, Levent's role in the international IR disciplinary community is being limited by his national identity, to being solely a "Turkish expert." In these works, as Levent points out above, he feels the need to be more "introductory," and to give more "facts" than "analysis." The irony is that he feels compelled to write these pieces in that way because the deeper analyses he's obviously able to make involve delving into issues that are unfamiliar or uninteresting to the foreign audience.

When I look at Levent's literacy practices in terms of the goals he ascribes to them and the filters he mediates, the following picture emerges. First, it seems as though his "core/U.S. IR community filter" is relatively thin. He has one particular niche within the core IR community--Turkish foreign policy expert. In this niche, he is very well known; thus, there is a particular genre/mediational means (the commissioned chapter in an edited book about Turkish or Middle Eastern foreign policy) that, while not the most prestigious means in the system, is easily accessible to him. Using this means also seems to serve adequately to maintain his current status and professional identity--namely, a big name in the Turkish academic community and among international scholars interested in Turkey.

Overall, therefore, Levent can be considered as someone who is, for the most part, content with his position as a successful traditional-style (older generation) IR scholar in Turkey. Certain factors prevent him, however, from being completely at ease with this role. The first is of course his training abroad and his mentorship under one of the true leaders of the core discipline and of core theorizing in particular. The second factor relates to the department in which he has worked for 25 years, and its self identification as the leading department for IR theory in Turkey. It is also home to many of the leading middle-generation scholars who led the division of the Turkish IR community in the 1990s. In such an atmosphere, it would not be easy to remain unaffected by the push for producing "theoretical" work.

A possible third factor could be associated with Levent's own personal background, which in fact is not as a part of the elite class of society. In a sense, therefore, despite his belonging to an earlier generation of IR scholars, he does not fit

with the traditional picture of IR in Turkey that existed at the time he was a student or a young assistant professor. I believe this may have been a factor in the development of his own understanding of where he fit in the local disciplinary community. Moreover, I believe his position of being somewhat outside the traditional community may even have contributed to making him a significant figure in determining the current face of IR in Turkey.

Even though the middle generation of IR scholars likes to dismiss the older generation and claim credit for having themselves introduced theory to Turkish IR, my own assessment would be that Levent was among the first to do this. Before Levent's return from USC, there was not a single IR department in Turkey teaching IR theory. In the late 1970s Levent came back from the United States after working closely with and winning the respect of a leading US theoretician in the field. Not long after, the curriculum at Levent's university at least unofficially began identifying itself more closely with theory as opposed to a traditional approach to IR. Fatih may be correct in saying that he introduced the first actual undergraduate IR theory course in Turkey, but theory had long before made its way into the IR curriculum and individual course syllabi at Levent's institution. It has been the long-term efforts to integrate IR theory into the curriculum there that allows Levent to now comfortably say that his department "focus[es] more on conceptual parts of IR rather than policy--or we combine the policy side with the theoretical component" (Levent, interview, November 22, 2002). It was also under Levent's chairship of the department that so many of the young, theory-influenced scholars were taken on as faculty. It is surely not a coincidence that so many of those who now produce the most theoretical works in Turkish IR are working out of

the same department. It strongly suggests that an appreciation for their particular type of scholarship was pre-existing among the administration that hired them.

When I look back then at Levent's own literacy practices, I sense that because of the generation to which he belongs, he may have been torn between issues of personal and professional identity. As pointed out in chapter 4, I associate these two terms with Ivanic's (1998) classifications of "autobiographical self," referring, for example, to issues of social background, and "possibilities for self-hood," which refers to the privileging of ways of participating in an activity. In the current study, this second categorization seems to be relevant when considering the shift in privileging at the local IR community level, from traditional diplomatic IR to a more theoretical approach to the discipline.

In Levent's case, as a non-elite in a generation of elite IR scholars, presumably he wanted on a personal level to fit in with his peers. His reluctance, like Fatih's, to speak about his educational background before university, suggests some discomfort with not having attended the elite private middle or high schools. When he returned from the United States, however, he had a strong training in IR, including IR theory. This professional identity was unique at the time, and made it quite easy for him to make a name for himself locally. Regardless of what he produced, or how much he produced, he was considered an important figure locally because he had been trained in the United States and had worked with a famous professor.

While he took benefit from his connection with the theoretical branch of the core IR community, he did not follow up on this and try to challenge the dominant picture of IR in Turkey for two reasons. First, he still wanted to belong to the community of elite IR scholars, and second, he was alone in representing an alternative picture. Not only did his

position as the only theory person weaken the chances that he could challenge the dominant picture, it also meant that he faced no competition. Thus, in an interesting interaction of aspects of Levent's autobiographical self and possibilities for self-hood, for many years, his own literacy practices settled into a comfortable picture with no apparent double-binds or contradictions. He had a special professional identity that allowed him entrance into the local elite IR community, and access to the means of that community. This was satisfying to him on both a personal and a professional level, and led him to put aside efforts to address the core IR community in his research in any way other than as an invited Turkish expert.

With the rise of the middle generation of Turkish IR scholars, however, the local professional identity that Levent could very well have been the "father" of, gained prominence. The middle generation finally put up the challenge to the traditional Turkish elite scholars, and created a new dominant professional identity. Levent's obvious discomfort when speaking with me about his publishing record stems in part from his awareness, on the one hand, that he could have done what they did. On the other hand, his publishing record is there for public review, and it shows that he did not challenge the tradition. Now he finds himself classified by the middle and new generations as being of the old generation. In fact he may be stuck in between the two. He achieved a certain level of acceptance into the old generation by using what was at the time a novel professional identity. Now that professional identity has gained prominence, but he is denied acceptance because ultimately he did not produce what it required.

Chapter 7

Bridging the Core-Periphery Gap in Academic Literacy Practices

IR is a very popular department. If you're planning to continue in social sciences, IR is at the top (Ali, interview, November 7, 2002).

I know now that I did the right thing. It was not always an easy decision to leave the army, which was so guaranteed, with early retirement and everything. But now I know I've found my niche and it suits me. I can be whatever I want. I can be like, what was that guy's name, Peter Arnett, and do television stuff and the media, or I can try to become an advisor to the foreign minister, or I can just sit in my office and look out the window at the trees and the fountain...read some books, write some articles and enjoy this life (Tolga, conversation, June 2003).

Well, it turns out this job is much better than any other...at least you have lots of holidays. (Nihat, interview, July 6, 1999)

In this inquiry I looked at the choices being made by Turkish scholars of international relations in their academic literacy practices. I presented portraits of strategist scholars like Fatih, who sometimes chooses to write and read scholarly works in Turkish, and other scholars, like the idealist Ebru, who prefers to do so only in English. I examined cases of other strategists, like Ali, who finds value in and produce genres such as newspaper articles. But I also met tacticians like Deniz, who dismisses such genres as a waste of time. Throughout the inquiry, I explored ways of looking at these scholars, their literacy choices, and at the contexts through which the scholars negotiated these choices. In this chapter, I reflect on the various understandings that emerge when I consider these ten scholars' portraits—understandings that may have implications for research methodology and methods, for the study of multi and multi-lingual literacies, for the discipline of international relations, and for the teaching of English.

Understanding Turkish IR scholars' Literacy Practices

I began this inquiry by wondering what choices Turkish scholars were making in their academic literacy practices. I assumed a social understanding of literacy. This assumption signified my belief that their choices were not occurring in individual, isolated vacuums. Rather, they were taking place in the form of dialogues between the scholars and the communities in which they participate. Thus, I felt that their choices were being shaped and constructed by factors stemming from the scholars themselves, from the communities, and from the interactions between them.

The factors I refer to as stemming from the scholars themselves, are those such as scholars' original ideas of commitment to the discipline (pragmatic vs. personal/emotional) and their level of English language proficiency they have upon joining the discipline. To make such a differentiation, I am drawing a distinct line between before and after the scholars actually entered the field of IR as undergraduate students. At that moment of entry, when they first began their B.A. coursework in IR, these scholars all had a certain level of English proficiency and certain feelings about the discipline of IR, for example, some were sure that IR was the field they wanted to enter, others were entering out of necessity. They also represented a myriad of other socialized factors, such as their family backgrounds and social class, comprising what I call their 'pre-IR' identity. These factors are similar, therefore, to both Ivanic's (1998) 'autobiographical self' and Bourdieu's 'habitus' (1977), in that they consist of the underlying, internalized, and sometimes unconscious factors the scholars bring with them into their academic literacy practices in IR. These elements of scholars' identities continue to influence their literacy practices.

Conversely, there are systemic factors such as the workload placed on scholars by their home institution, the requirements for professional advancement laid down by the Turkish Higher Education Council, and the physical resources of their workplace (e.g.

computers, faxes, library resources), that can be considered as externally imposed, and largely non-negotiable factors from their local contexts. I use the term 'non-negotiable' to mean that scholars have little or no personal choice in determining these factors. Scholars have little control, for example, over the resources their institutions can provide them, or over the requirements that YOK defines for advancement. These factors are therefore 'externally controlled' by their institutions and the Higher Education Council. Nor do scholars have much if any choice in whether or not these factors will influence their literacy practices. They can not choose to 'ignore' their institution's requirements to teach four courses a semester. By differentiating between these externally controlled factors and mediated or internalized factors, I am making a distinction reminiscent of how Bourdieu divides his concept of "cultural capital" into its "embodied" and "objectified" states. The embodied state refers to cultural capital that is directly linked to and incorporated within the individual, whereas objectified cultural capital is represented by material cultural goods, such as books, paintings, or instruments. The embodied state is therefore similar to what I refer to as mediated factors, and the objective state is like the external, non-negotiable ones.

Finally, there are the range of factors affecting scholars' literacy practices that emerge from interactions between the agent and both the local and the international IR disciplinary contexts. In essence, these are similar to the first type, but divided in the temporal sense of coming about after the scholars' began their interactions with the IR communities. Examples of this type of factor include, therefore, the agent's training in the discipline of IR (in North America, Europe, Turkey, or elsewhere), the agent's contacts or networks within both the local and international IR communities, ideological and political questions, and the agent's goals at both the personal and professional levels.

Essentially, the factors can all be grouped into two general areas: 1) 'concrete' factors coming from the local context, and 2) 'mediated' factors connected to the "agent + goals +

available means". When I consider the first of these, it suggests that there is a qualitative difference between some aspects of the local context (the Turkish IR activity system filter) and the nature of the other contexts or filters shown to be mediated through and by a scholar's literacy practices. For example, the local context has the additional role of affecting the scholars' literacy practices by providing tangible incentives (such as pay raises for publications) and concrete facilities (such as computer access and library resources). The local context may also affect scholars' literacy practices because it does not provide these same things. Sevda's case comes to mind immediately, when I recall that she is not provided with a computer in her office. In terms of incentives, recall Metin's vivid description of the lack of incentives to publish in the state university where he works: "if you publish, no one sort of slaps you on the shoulders, if you don't publish no one slaps you on the face either" (Metin, interview, July 2, 1999). Metin's local context is in direct contrast with the local contexts of scholars like Deniz, Ebru, Tolga, and Mehmet, who are required by their institutions to fill out reports on their publications twice annually, according to which their pay is adjusted. Local contexts may also affect scholars' literacy practices by restricting a scholar's time with heavy teaching loads or administrative duties. Mehmet, Metin, and Levent, who are all chairs of their departments, complained of the burdens of administrative work taking them away from their time to read and produce scholarly work.

These factors seem to lend a distinct element to the local context of Turkish IR, and therefore to the local filter on the model presented in chapter 2. Unlike the non-negotiable character of these factors connected with the local context of Turkish IR, the factors related to the other filters in the model--the core IR disciplinary system and Turkish society--seem to play a greater or lesser role depending on how they are mediated among the "agents + goals + available means".

I realize that my emphasis on the element of mediation in distinguishing between factors is important to me. I am reminded of the value of adopting a sociocultural, constructionist framework in literacy studies. The examples of mediated factors that emerged from the cases exemplified how complex and multifaceted the process of mediation—or in a Bakhtinian sense, dialogue—is. The scholars have their unique backgrounds (autobiographical selves/habitus). However, they are restricted by systemic factors, and possibly torn between conflicting goals and understandings of what the IR communities are demanding of them. Within this complexity, they select among the mediational means that are available to them. Thus the mediation of the individuals and the multiple communities of which they are a part becomes materialized in their literacy practices. In this inquiry, though, I try to turn this process inside out. I look at the scholars' literacy practices and try to trace back to understand the means that were available to them, their goals, the systemic restrictions placed on them, and their personal backgrounds and values.

Turning to some of the different factors affecting the scholars' literacy practices, I realize that their initial training in IR is naturally an important one. There are great variations in IR training in North America, Europe, or Turkey, not to mention the differences in training that exist across individual IR departments. One way in which these differences may affect literacy practices is in the degree to which they expose students to different genres and discourses and thereby provide students with greater or fewer opportunities to use these genres and discourses. Their exposure to and use of these genres and discourses as students, no doubt continues to have an effect on their literacy practices as practicing IR scholars. When students are not exposed to or given the chance to use a particular genre or discourse, it seems logical that if they try to use that means later on, the process is more likely to be conflictual. Conversely, if someone has had extensive exposure to and opportunities to use a genre or discourse, their increased familiarity may ease their use of that means later on.

The participants reported, for example, significant differences in graduate level training that generally takes place in North America versus that which generally occurs in the United Kingdom. These differences will likely affect whether students will have a broader or more limited exposure to various genres. As Tolga pointed out in one interview, by the time he started writing his Ph.D. dissertation, he had taken nearly 30 graduate level courses. For each of these courses he had had to read and write extensively. Ebru, on the other hand, noted that when she began her Ph.D., the British university system had just instituted for the first time some requirement for Ph.D. students to take a single course, which she described as a "kind of research seminar". Outside of this course, however, there was no other coursework at the Ph.D. level. Given that the M.A. degree experiences reported by my participants all consisted of one year of classwork and then a thesis, it is probable that students could complete an M.A. and Ph.D. in the U.K. having taken between 8-10 courses. While students in the U.K. naturally still do a lot of reading for their Ph.D. dissertation, the chances are high that that for international students going abroad only for graduate academic work, the range of genres to which they are exposed will be less than that of their North American trained colleagues.

When I reflect on my own graduate student socialization in a North American university context, I recognize how valuable it was for me to take a variety of classes from many different professors. I was exposed to very different research perspectives and agendas. I was also required to read and write many different genres, such as statistical research studies, book reviews, annotated bibliographies, and personal reflections. This variety of assignments helped broaden my knowledge of the field of Second Language Education while also increasing my confidence in my own abilities.

Naturally, coursework is not the only way for students to be exposed to different genres, however I think it is a crucial one. As still relative newcomers in the IR disciplinary

community, graduate students are highly reliant on the guidance of experts to broaden their exposure to IR genres and discourses. Individual experts will also be limited, though, in their own awareness of genres and discourses. Ideally, therefore, newcomers should interact with many different experts. I find that the North American system of having students take numerous courses with a variety of professors is a better way of guaranteeing a newcomer's broad exposure to disciplinary genres and discourses.

Another issue that arose from the data was scholars' contacts and networks locally and internationally. I see a clear connection between this issue and the means the scholars do or do not find available to them in their choices and uses of literacy practices. This connection can be seen in the following example. Among the participants with the most extensive publishing records relative to their peers, such as Fatih or Mehmet, it is evident that the majority of their produced works are in a particular genre, chapters in edited volumes. This genre is in virtually all cases the result of an invitation by a colleague to take part in such a project, sometimes with an initial conference or workshop to first share the works among the contributors. Although the exact nature of the resulting chapter can vary in discourse, for example, between more theoretical pieces or more policy oriented ones, an essential aspect of the genre can be found in the fact that it is invited. Therefore, in order to produce this genre, a scholar needs to have contacts either locally or internationally to first make the request. As an example of what happens when a scholar does not have appropriate contacts, I would refer to the case of Nihat, who directly pointed out that he "did not know anyone" who could invite chapters from him, and therefore he relied on writing articles for journals.

When I consider these factors, I see certain implications for slight modifications of the model originally presented in chapter 2. Even as it stands in Figure 4 (page 85), the model represents some improvement over some previous examples of activity theory application (e.g. Russell 1997) by expressing more explicitly the concept of mediation, and by giving it a

greater sense of dynamism and recursiveness. In my model, I try to graphically express the concept of mediation by employing a 'filter' metaphor rather than one of 'context' (a general term often used it seems to remind the reader that a study has taken a social perspective on literacy) or 'system' (referring specifically to Engstrom's activity system concept). Both of those terms may, I feel, lead people away from conceiving of systems as things that are mediated. In terms of dynamism, the circling ellipse through the agent, filters, and texts, expresses clearly the idea of how constantly changing agents both affect and are affected by their interactions with the communities they are a part of. In addition to expressing dynamism, I also use the ellipse to express the recursive nature of the process. Even though I discuss different parts of the model individually, they are shown as inextricably connected by the connecting ellipse.

Figure 8. Revised Model of Agents, Texts, and Activity System Filters
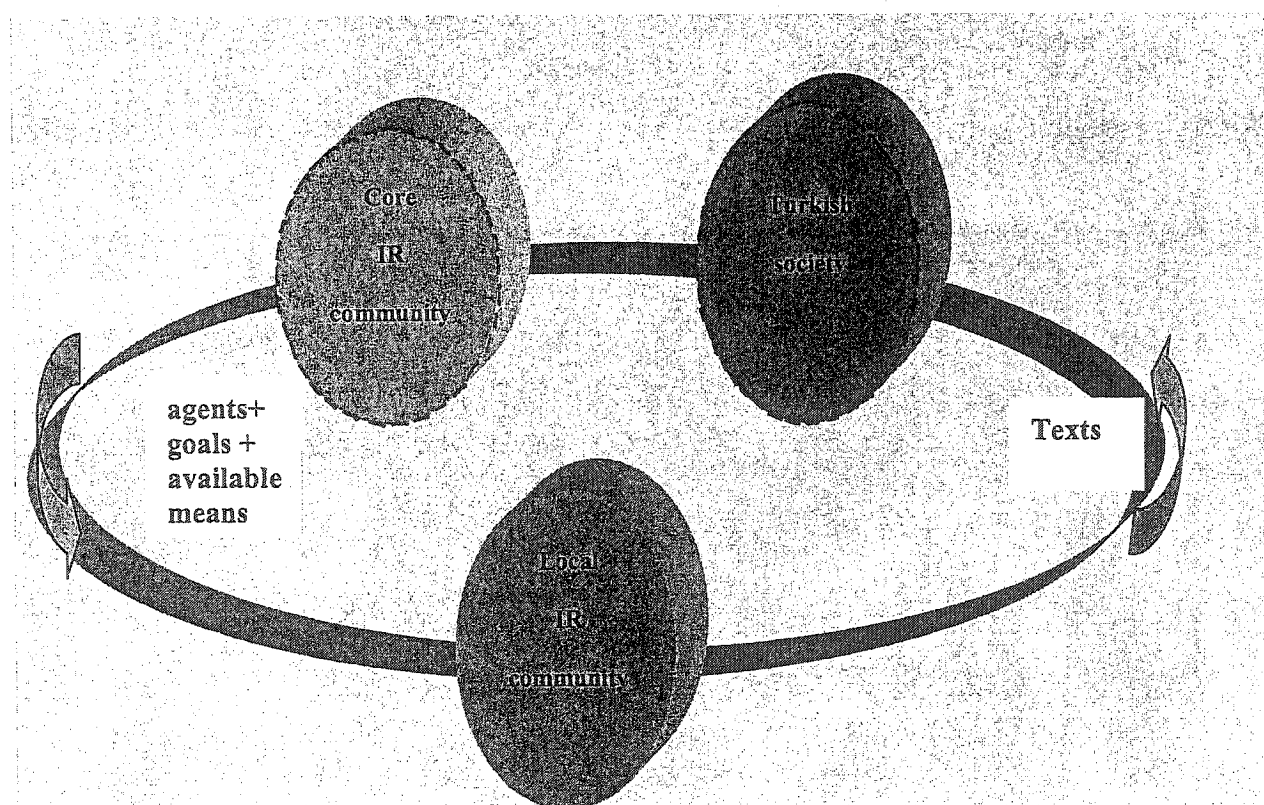
Maguire (1999, reproduced in Maguire and Graves, 2001) makes a similar point about recursiveness in her model of bilingual children's interactions with linguistic acts or utterances. The two models share many other common elements as well, since both represent agents and means mediating literacy tasks. However, they differ in various ways. The concept of agent plus goals plus means in my model is represented by interlocking circles in Maguire's. First, she gives two circles to distinguish between the agent's autobiographical and discoursal selves. Second, she seems to make a distinction between concrete mediational tools, such as available computers and books, and the discursive task and activity being carried out, such as journal writing. For me, the mediational means more closely resemble her discursive tasks. Therefore, the means referred to in my model are the genres among which the agents choose, such as scholarly articles, book chapters, or books. Maguire links all the circles to enclose in the middle her focal point of the speaking personality. My model attempts to focus on the ongoing process of production (and, due to the nature of dialogue, reception) of utterances. The different features and emphases of the two models make them both useful in a complementary manner.

When I look at the data, however, I realize that certain changes might be useful in making my model reflect more closely some of the understandings that have emerged from this inquiry. As shown in Figure 8, I have added a reminder that "agents" in fact comprise agents plus goals plus available means. This new description closely resembles Wertsch's concept of agency as an individual acting with mediational means, but also draws emphasis to the important element of 'goals' from the activity system framework. Second, I have slightly altered the way I represent the local context filter of Turkish IR from the other filters in order to express the added concreteness in the ways it might restrict or encourage a scholar's literacy practices. This change recognizes that the local context includes non-negotiable, systemic factors such as certain resources or requirements. Although other filters may produce

equally concrete factors to bear on a certain scholar's literacy practices, these seem to stem from a greater degree of agent choice. For example, a scholar may choose to be involved with the Turkish society filter, and this may lead to concrete invitations to write for newspapers. On the other hand, the non-mediated local factors described above, such as YOK requirements or the existence/lack of pay incentives or library facilities, are universal in affecting all the Turkish IR scholars within a particular university department in one way or another. I would add that by giving this distinction to the local context filter, I am supporting and reemphasizing Casanave's (1998) strong call for the need to consider local factors when looking at literacy practices of scholars working in EFL contexts. In fact, the idea that there are various non-negotiable factors from the local context is not restricted to scholars working in EFL contexts or to scholars carrying out literacy practices in more than one language. These types of factors invariably affect all scholars, though the details will vary from local context-to-local context and thus become mediated in different ways.

Agents and Agency

Disciplinary Ties and Literary Practices

One way in which I discuss agency in this study is when I refer to the personal and professional identities of the participants and draw connections between these and, respectively, Ivanic's categories of autobiographical self and possibilities for self-hood. Thus, 'personal identity' is linked to the autobiographical self in referring to the prior shaped identities scholars bring to their literacy practices. 'Professional identity' is linked to possibilities for self-hood, and refers to the socially acceptable and hierarchically ranked ways of behaviors within the local and international IR communities. By focusing on these two of Ivanic's four aspects of writer identity, this inquiry follows up on Ivanic's 1998 book, which focused particularly on her concept of the discoursal self. This variation in emphasis is

unsurprising, since Ivanic's other two aspects of writer identity (discoursal self and self as author) seem more directly tied with texts and her study is clearly more linguistic and textually based than mine. Even though all four categories of writer identity can be and are expressed textually, the two on which I focus seem to draw more on methodologies from anthropology and sociology than those from linguistics. Ivanic writes, for example, that the autobiographical self is the category most resembling Bourdieu's sociological notion of habitus (1977). Therefore, even though the autobiographical self may be seen as coming through in texts, the idea behind this form of identity is still focused on exploring sociological concepts related to the agent's past. Likewise, possibilities for self-hood are about community expectations. In other words, although this aspect is again manifested in texts, it is focused on understanding social relationships within a community.

As a factor closely tied in with agency, I found it interesting to note the importance of the scholars' personal connections with the discipline as a factor influencing their literacy choices. As a theme that ran throughout the portraits, I realized that the scholars seemed to have either a largely pragmatic connection with the discipline or a more emotional one. In the first case, there are examples of scholars like Deniz, who found herself in the discipline of IR because she could not get into her first choices on the university exam. Other examples were those who saw continued study in IR as a means for something else that they wanted, like, in Fatih's case, learning English. On the other hand, there are scholars who entered the discipline of IR with full intention and will. These scholars, such as Nihat, expressed their deep interest in topics of politics, or Ali, who revealed his feelings that IR was an exciting or prestigious field to belong to.

Between these two groups of scholars, it seems that there are clear patterns of differences in terms of literacy practices. Most interesting, is how these patterns can be traced using Ivanic's theoretical framework of writer identity, in particular her distinction between

the autobiographical self and possibilities for self-hood in the socio-cultural and institutional context. Ivanic writes that in order to uncover the autobiographical self, we need to get at the previously shaped identity people bring with them to any piece of writing by asking such questions as "what aspects of people's lives might have led them to write in the way that they do?" (1998:25). It strikes me when looking at the participants in this study that the scholars who expressed a deeper personal connection with IR, had literacy practices that generally seemed more affected by their autobiographical self. For example, these scholars were more likely to select mediational means connected to the Turkish society filter, like newspapers and television or radio shows. By making use of these means, they were satisfying the identity that they brought with them into the discipline. That is, they were using means that would enhance aspects of their identity that existed before their entrance into the IR discipline, such as their social or family backgrounds. These means allowed them to make their names or faces known to friends and family, or perhaps to society in general. An example is the case of Ali, who wrote frequently for the local newspapers. Using these mediational means may not have helped him improve his position in his department or increase his recognition in the international IR community, but it is likely to prove helpful to him in achieving one of his goals of becoming a politician or political advisor.

On the other hand, those scholars who entered the discipline for more pragmatic purposes tended to have literacy practices more closely linked to Ivanic's concept of possibilities for self-hood. This aspect of writer identity is removed from individual writers and focuses instead on the various writer identities that may be assumed within a particular group. Research on this aspect of identity asks questions such as, "what possibilities for self-hood, in terms of relations of power, interests, values, and beliefs are inscribed in the practices, genres and discourses which are supported by particular socio-cultural and institutional contexts?" and "what are the patterns of privileging among available possibilities

for self-hood?" (Ivanic, 1997: 29). In other words, this aspect of identity mirrors to some extent some newer work being done on genres (e.g. Coe, 2003; Dias et al., 1999; Herndl, 1993), in which patterns of privileging within a community's genre use are explored.

With respect to the scholars in this study who had more pragmatic relationships to the discipline of IR, their literacy choices seemed to reflect an equally pragmatic consciousness of the privileging of means/genres within the discipline. Consequently, their personal choices tended to involve using the highest possible means available to them. Deniz is a good example of this pragmatism. She is interested only in choosing means that will most efficiently improve her position in her department and in the international discipline, primarily articles in Social Science Citation Index journals. She considers the rest a 'waste of time'. To contrast scholars like Deniz with those, like Ali, who are more emotionally tied to the discipline, the pragmatic scholars tended to select means serving to their professional identities, whereas the personally connected scholars were equally likely to select means that would enhance their personal identities.

This observation seems to offer a slightly different perspective on Ivanic's assertion that most writing involves a resolving of tensions between the autobiographical self and the possibilities for self-hood. The difference may stem in part from the nature of the participants. In Ivanic's research, the participants are mature students, returning to academic life after years away, and often after having had unsuccessful first encounters with academia. For these students, writing may very well evolve around the tensions between their personal identities and the accepted ways of behavior within the academy. In the case of the participants in this inquiry, however, it seems more useful to picture the two aspects of identity as ends of a continuum. I then see these scholars' literacy practices as leaning closer to one side or the other of the continuum, in the sense of which aspect of identity is being most satisfied by the individual's literacy practices. The crucial factor that seems to be affecting the direction

towards which the practices lean, is the scholars' emotional/pragmatic connection with the disciplinary topic of international relations.

Thus, I do not necessarily see tension between all of these scholars' autobiographical selves and the discipline's possibilities for self-hood. Rather, I see these scholars making choices to use means that are somehow connected more with one side or the other of the continuum. The question arises of course whether they use these means because those are all that are available to them, or whether they are choosing these means over other available ones due to factors like their connection with the discipline. Probably the answer lies somewhere in a combination of the two. In either Ivanic's perspective of resolving tensions or my perspective of a continuum, this inquiry once again emphasizes the value of a new literacy approach, which recognizes the importance of questions of identity and social meanings in understanding literacy.

Political Questions and Ideological Becoming

Yet another issue that may be related to Turkish IR scholars' emotional ties with the discipline of IR, is that of ideological and political questions. I placed this factor among those that stem from the agent's interactions with the local and/or international disciplinary and social contexts. I also proposed that these types of factors could be combined within the concept of the "agent + goals + available means". I made this distinction on the basis that the effect of a factor like ideological questions on a scholar's literacy practices hinged largely on an agent's own choices rather than on externally controlled conditions.

To some extent, one could argue that ideological/political questions could have a universal and concrete effect on all Turkish IR scholars' literacy practices. There are undoubtedly issues such as the Kurdish question, political Islam, the Cyprus issue, and civil-military relations, which are highly politicized or ideologized, and are bound to affect

virtually all Turkish IR scholars. The difference remains between this type of 'universal' effect and the effects of 'concrete' factors such as library facilities or publishing requirements, in that ideological/ political questions are still mediated. Scholars may choose, for example, to adopt a particular position on an issue and, subsequently, appropriate means to express that position. They may also choose to avoid the topic altogether in their literacy practices. The element of being negotiable brings the agent's role back into the picture and makes this factor a part of those factors emerging from agents + goals + available means.

Ideological/political questions also provide an obvious starting point for a reconsideration of Bakhtin's concept of ideological becoming. In the case of highly politicized local issues such as political Islam or civil-military relations, I see quite clearly defined examples of the authoritative word. On these issues, there are well-known state and social positions that can be considered as the official discourse. For example, political Islam is considered a threat to the secular state. A statement such as, "women should be allowed to wear whatever head covering they like when they enter public buildings" may not be interpreted as a general statement in favor of freedom of expression. Rather, it may be understood as a statement in favor of political Islam, and therefore in opposition to the idea of a secular state. Whether scholars take a position on these issues in their literacy practices (dis)similar to the state's discourse or take a position to avoid these issues altogether, they are nevertheless revealing the results of a mediation between their 'internally persuasive discourse' and the official discourse. In other words, they reveal the degree to which they have internalized or resisted the official discourse.

Interestingly, the tensions of discursive mediation on ideological/political topics such as these did not emerge as a striking factor in this inquiry. In the case of the Kurdish issue, for example, at least one of the ten participants had written extensively on the topic, and had produced works that are accepted by skeptical Western audiences while at the same time

causing him no seeming political problems locally. Only two participants made any reference to conflicts in their writing that could be directly related to a clash with authoritative discourse. In our first interview, Nihat mentioned that he might "pause and consider" before writing some things about the Turkish military, since he sometimes got funding from Turkish government sources to attend international conferences. Even after saying this, however, he added that he would "probably not change" what he writes, because he would not want to appear as a "spokesman" for the Turkish state. Tolga also mentioned in an interview that in one of his works, a co-author referred to the "invasion" of Cyprus, and Tolga had requested the word be changed to "occupation", which he felt would be more acceptable to a Turkish audience.

When I consider the lack of concerns expressed on this issue, I tend to believe that it is not because Turkish IR scholars lack a consciousness of issues of academic freedom. I suspect they are aware of such concerns, and that they wrestle with them in their own ways, as do scholars everywhere. I believe, however, that it may be an erroneous assumption of Westerners/ North Americans to anticipate that Turkish scholars would experience a greater amount of conflicts arising from ideological questions. There are degrees of legal differences in how laws in Turkey and the United States protect freedom of speech. For example, Turkish law reflects the view that inciting religious fervor may be dangerous for the survival of the Turkish state policy of secularism, which is itself seen as protecting a kind of "freedom." Therefore, article 312 of the Turkish Criminal Code openly bars the use of religion as a base for political action (*Türkiye Cumhuriyet Anayasası ve İnsan Hakları*, 2000). In the United States, a similar concern is noted in the constitutional decision to separate church and state. When certain acts or rhetorical challenges to this standard are raised, for example, allowing prayer in public schools, the conclusion is not a basically foregone one as in the Turkish case.

Rather, it is subject to a great debate and struggle between this principle of the American

system, and another principle of the U.S. Constitution—that of guaranteeing free speech.

These differences in emphasis lead to general conclusions being made about Turks'

overall respect for free speech and thought, and frequently the assumption is made that the

Turkish system does not protect these freedoms adequately. I no doubt shared some of these

impressions and therefore expected to find considerable evidence of conflicts in scholars'

mediation of the local IR or Turkish society system filters. I was aware that most of these

scholars had been trained for years abroad in the "pro-free speech" West. I therefore expected

to hear reports of how they struggled upon returning to Turkey because they wanted to write

about certain topics but felt pressured not to or to do so in a way that would require

suppressing their true feelings. Or, I expected to find a complete absence of research on

particular topics, reflecting a mass self-censorship to avoid conflicts. Instead, I found that

some scholars were researching and writing on even the most contentious political or

ideological topics, and did not report to be experiencing conflicts. At the same time, their

works were generally published abroad, and therefore could not be dismissed as works

completely in line with a state authoritative discourse and appearing in media connected to

that same authority.

Two points in particular seem important to draw from this finding. First, although

these examples were perhaps most illustrative of the concepts of "ideology" and

"authoritative discourse" because the topics were ideological in nature and the authority (the

state) was a significant one, it is important to keep in mind that Bakhtin's concept of

ideological becoming is about all language, ideas, and utterances, not just political/ideological

ones. The concept is another reminder that all choices of words, regardless of topic, are not

neutral. They are essentially results of negotiations between agents and the social worlds with

which they interact. Bakhtin even goes beyond the word, to remind us that everything in life

is a result of such negotiation:

> Life by its very nature is dialogic. To live means to participate in dialogue: to ask
> questions, to heed, to respond, to agree, and so forth. In this dialogue a person
> participates wholly and throughout his whole life: with his eyes, lips, hands, soul,
> spirit, with his whole body and deeds. He invests his entire self in discourse, and
> this discourse enters into the dialogic fabric of human life, into the world
> symposium (1984, p.293).

As a result of this dialogue, agents reveal their positions vis-à-vis the authoritative discourse.

By selecting some aspects of the accepted word, and by giving words their own unique

accents, agents express how they feel about that accepted word.

The second point I drew from this discussion was a reminder to avoid assumptions. I

have tried, in developing my methodology for this research, to avoid making assumptions or

holding expectations about what I would find, but still such ideas are bound to persist. In this

case, I was forced to think carefully about my expectations that I would hear how Turkish

scholars were highly affected and torn by political and ideological topics. When realizing that

they were not expressing such conflicts, I received a cultural reminder that we are all subject

to ideological and political conflicts, only the nature of these conflicts changes from context-

to-context. While some Turkish IR scholars may very well be experiencing conflicts in their

literacy practices due to tensions between their personal discourse and that of some authority,

the same can and should be assumed for any scholar.

It has been a constant struggle for me in this thesis to try and balance my own

expectations and biases about discourses of authority and to then report certain findings in

light of this struggle. I am very much aware when writing these last few pages, for example,

of my strong beliefs that all minorities in Turkey should be granted full equal rights, but my

simultaneous belief that the Turkish state has been unfairly singled out for criticism by the

West. This does mean that I approve of all Turkish state decisions vis-à-vis Turkey's minority

populations, but, as post-September 11 acts by various Western states have shown, the rubric

of 'combating terrorism' can explain many unthinkable acts. The double standard that emerges when Western states criticize Turkey and then act in a similar manner is nearly as disturbing to me as the original acts.

When I look at the participants in this study and consider their choices to resist or not to resist against discourses of authority—or even their decisions whether to be open to me about how much of a struggle such questions are for them—I find myself almost frozen out of a desire to banish the "me" in this inquiry and just "report the findings". When I consider my own expectations, I am struck that North Americans or Western Europeans may assume we have a superior understanding of and openness towards basic human rights or concepts such as democracy. In such a case, we may also assume that we may have fewer conflicts between our personal discourses and those of authority. Such assumptions might lead Westerners into playing jury and judge as we define standards of behavior and then rate others on how well they are able to live up to them. I wonder whether the very acts of setting standards and passing judgments may not run the risk of blinding us to possible shades of difference in defining these standards. May it not also predispose us to expect (and then discover?) shortcomings of behavior in those we are ready to find deficient? I do not think it is unfair to suggest that many North American or Western European scholars might label their scholarship as 'subject to fewer ideological restrictions' than scholarship from, for example, the Middle East. Ultimately, I believe that such distinctions of 'more' or 'less' affected by ideology are distractions. Everyone struggles to some extent, in some manner, between their personal discourses and discourses of authority.

Reflections on Texts

In addition to understanding the choices being made by Turkish IR scholars (the agents) in their literacy practices, a further goal of this research was to gain insights into the

actual genres being used by these scholars. I was curious about the range of genres being used, as well as the relative privileging of these genres by the scholars. Exploring these questions about the genres being used basically meant getting inside and adding depth to my understanding of the concept of 'texts' in Figure 8.

I decided to focus this inquiry on academics working in a single discipline rather than on Turkish academics in general. This decision stemmed from my belief that studies such as Casanave (1998), though providing some very interesting information, failed to give adequate consideration to the affects of different disciplinary expectations on resulting literacy practices. Based on evidence from a large body of literature on discipline specific genres, I was convinced that this factor could not be overlooked. It was not my primary focus to precisely define and describe the genres of the IR discipline. However, since genres constituted the 'means' of my activity system framework, they became a part of the discussion. The data provided opportunities therefore, to reflect on the genres of the international relations discipline.

Genres used by Turkish IR scholars

Based on the interview reports of the participants as well as on my own observations and examination of the participants' actual texts, I have sketched a broad picture of Turkish IR scholars' genre choices (Figure 9). The types of texts that I have chosen to identify as different genres reflect the broad approach to texts that I took in this study—a more anthropological than linguistic one. In other words, I differentiate genres on the basis of the general purposes they serve, the language they are in, and the topics they deal with, rather than on their specific linguistic features such as citations, length of clauses, or use of the personal pronoun "I."

Figure 9. Genres of IR
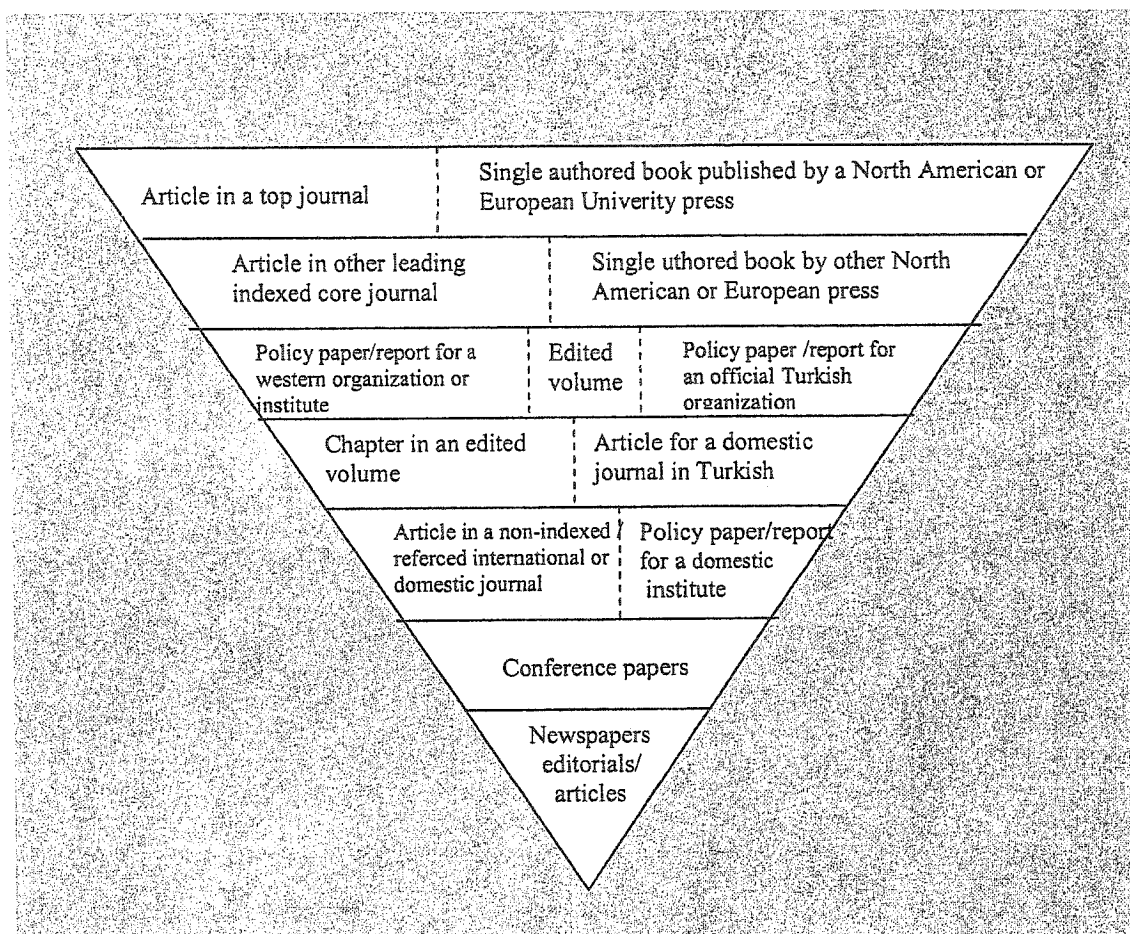
In Figure 9 I have also attempted to arrange the genres in a manner to suggest their respective degrees of privilege in the discipline, with 'most privileged' taking the largest blocks on the top of the inverted pyramid, and 'least privileged' taking the smallest blocks at the bottom. The dotted lines represent the extreme subjectivity of all but the top rankings. The solid lines of the top blocks not only reflect the wide agreement among the participants about these genres' privileged status, but also the relative regularity in the definition of these two genres.

The first two genres included in the diagram are an "article in a top journal of the SSCI", and a "single-authored book published by a North American or European university

press." The 'top journals' of the SSCI are generally agreed upon by my study participants and

other IR scholars I have spoken to in Turkey and abroad, as being *International Organization,*

International Security, International Studies Quarterly, Review of International Studies,

Foreign Affairs, and *World Politics*. I find it quite difficult, but necessary, to try and

distinguish between these six journals and those that make up the genre on the following

level, an "article in other leading indexed core journal." The main difference seems to lie in

the amount of general agreement about the ranking of the six journals in the first genre. These

six were consistently named as being distinctly higher ranked than any others. Only one of my

participants (Mehmet) had ever succeeded in having anything published in one of these

journals, but most expressed a desire to do so. Just below these six journals, and making up

the journals of the third genre, are dozens of journals that are quite well respected in general,

but about which there was no overall consensus on their importance. These included such

journals as *Security Dialogue, Global Governance, Current History Journal of Conflict*

Resolution, or *Journal of Peace Research.*

One possible distinguishing characteristic between these journals and the top six

journals may be connected to their publishers. Of the six journals listed as the most

prestigious in the field, four of them come out of university presses—Cambridge University

Press, MIT Press, and Johns Hopkins University Press. *International Studies Quarterly* comes

out of a non-university press (Blackwell), but is the official journal of the International

Studies Association and as such has a guaranteed audience of the association's 5,000-plus

members. The sixth journal, *Foreign Affairs*, also comes out of a non-university press (the

Council on Foreign Relations). It seems to maintain its prestige simply because it is one of the

oldest journals in the field. It also seems to have a different standard because it publishes

policy based articles rather than theory-based ones. Of the top six journals, it is the only one

that did receive some criticism. Nihat questioned why it was considered such a well respected

journal in Turkey, saying that he didn't think it deserved such respect because it wasn't really an "academic journal." When I look at the range of journals that I place in the lower category, I see that they tend to be published more by companies, such as Lynne Rienner publishers, Sage Publications, or Current History Inc.

The fourth genre on the diagram is the "single-authored book published by other North American or European press." The participants were very consistent in distinguishing between books published by university presses versus those published by other foreign presses. They were much less consistent in judging the relative privileging of single-authored books versus articles. Some were very clear in saying that as a general rule, an article in a journal like *International Organization* or *International Studies Quarterly* was more influential in the international IR community than a book published by even a university press. Others were more cautious, saying that it highly depended on the type of book, and how wide an audience the book received.

The next row of the diagram contains three very diverse genres: "policy paper/report for a western organization (e.g. NATO or the UN) or institute (e.g. RAND, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, or the Geneva Center for Security Policy);" "edited volume;" and "policy paper/report for an official Turkish organization, e.g. the National Security Council, the Turkish General Staff, or the Foreign Ministry." The distinguishing factor in the first genre is clearly the western location of the organization or institute. The genre of producing a similar report for a local Turkish institute, such as the Center for Eurasian Strategic Studies (ASAM), the Uluslararasi Iliskiler Arastirma Merkezi (MURCIR), or the Karadeniz ve Orta Asya Ulkeleri Arastirma Merkezi (KORA), ranks considerably lower. In most cases I believe this lower ranking stems from the participants' greater familiarity with the local institutes and thus their greater awareness of poor quality scholarship being produced there. The genre of the "edited volume" is also

interesting. It does not seem to matter tremendously where such a volume is published, the fact of being an edited volume gives it its mediocre stature. Thus, an edited volume published in Turkey, in Turkish or English, is not necessarily ranked lower than an edited volume published in the west. Presumably of course, an edited volume with a university press in the west would be ranked higher by my participants, but that particular genre was never directly mentioned.

At the next level of the diagram I place a "chapter in an edited volume" and an "article for a domestic journal in Turkish." As with the edited volume, the chapter in an edited volume does not seem to be ranked very differently based on the place of publication. The domestic journals in Turkish genre refers to articles in such journals as *Siyasal Arastirmalar* [Political Research], *Avrasya Dosyasi* [Eurasian Dossier], *Turk Dunyasi Arastirmalar* [Turkish World Research], and the journals of the various university political science departments, such as the *Ankara Universitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakultesi Dergisi* [Ankara University Political Science Faculty Journal].

The next level of the diagram includes an "article in a non-indexed or non-refereed international or domestic journal" and "policy paper/report for a domestic institute." The key element to the first of these is the idea of being indexed or refereed. The problem with this category at the domestic level is that even though some local journals are said to be refereed, many local scholars dispute the reality of the claim. It is very difficult to assign rankings to Turkish journals since each scholar seems to have different ideas about which journals are 'really' refereed, and which are not.

The final two genres are "conference papers" and "newspaper articles/editorials." In terms of privileging, differentiation is clearly made between a paper for a major international conference over a local conference. However, in general, no conference papers are given

much consideration. Newspaper articles, if they are given any privilege at all, are judged on ideological grounds according to the standpoint of the particular newspaper.

With the partial exception of the genres in the top blocks, an article in a leading journal of the SSCI and a single authored book published by a North American or European university press, the data were a strong reminder of the tremendous heterogeneity, flexibility, and dynamism of genres. Even when dividing the genres at very basic levels, as I have done in Figure 9, there are still more than a dozen different genres mentioned. If I were to add greater complexity to the division by specifying more clearly the particular types of journals, the exact nature of the institutes, or the requirements of the particular publishers, the number of genres would be tenfold.

Flexibility and dynamism of the genres is inevitable because I have differentiated and classified genres in part according to the criterion of "purpose". In tying genre type to its purpose, I presume the possibility that the definition of a genre may vary from agent to agent, given that they may see different purposes for a particular text, or a similar purpose for different texts. Tying genres to purposes also guarantees that definitions of genres will change over time along with individuals and contexts.

On the flip side of a genre's perceived purpose, I also find it useful to consider agents' goals in using particular genres. By looking at different scholars' goals behind their use of various genres, I am able to make clearer the reasons why it is ultimately impossible to determine a particular relative privileging of the various genres. Basically, the privileging of any individual genre will vary according to an agent's goals. For example, a policy report prepared for NATO may be worth more than a single-authored book to a scholar whose goal is to join the advisory committee of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. To elaborate on this same example, therefore, it is easy to imagine that, in order to get the appointment to the Foreign Affairs advisory council, a NATO report on Turkey's role in future NATO operations

might be seen as a more valuable means than would be a scholarly monograph on feminist theory in IR published by Princeton University Press.

Another example illustrating the importance of details might be the case of any number of journals that, though respected by a particular group of scholars, may not be recognized by the Social Sciences Citation Index. This diverse and vast group of journals could include such publications as *International Studies Perspectives*, *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, or various journals promoting a more critical approach to IR study. Among Turkish IR scholars, the SSCI is often regarded as a benchmark for judging the quality of a journal, and thus the privilege that should be accorded to articles within those journals. The importance attributed to SSCI comes from both the Turkish High Education Council's direct privileging of SSCI articles in the points it gives to published works, and the direct financial benefits given by many Turkish universities for faculty publications in SSCI journals. On the other hand, among the journals on the SSCI, there are journals that could be viewed by some scholars as less prestigious than journals such as *International Studies Perspectives*. Particularly, SSCI journals that are largely policy oriented and focusing on certain regions, such as *Middle East Policy*, might fall into this category. Therefore, it is impossible to simply rank all SSCI journals as being more privileged than, for example, all refereed, non-SSCI journals.

A final example comes from looking at the difference between genres in English or some other foreign language, and those in Turkish. To some extent, genres in foreign languages are more privileged. The fact that the SSCI IR journals list is 95% English, with the remaining 5% in German or Dutch, and SSCI is given great significance in Turkey, suggests a clear importance being placed on foreign language genres. As several of the study participants reported, it is well known that most of the journals published in Turkey (predominantly in Turkish) do not subject manuscript submissions to a serious review process. Therefore, it is

commonly accepted that almost any piece can be published if the author knows someone on the editorial board. These works are therefore given considerably less value than their foreign-published counterparts. Again, the imbalance is reflected in the High Education Council's scoring of locally published articles as being worth just one point, while foreign published ones are worth between two to four points. However, for scholars thinking about taking their associate professor exam, having a work published in Turkish may be essential for them to pass. In that situation, it is possible to imagine a work published in a local Turkish journal as being worth more to a scholar than a work published in some other genre in English.

In addition to these issues making privileging of the genres so difficult, there is the added subjective element of quality of individual works, which destroys any chances of establishing a firm hierarchy of privileged to non-privileged genres in IR. When I speak of privileging of genres, it is with the assumption that agents are going to use produced texts as tools for seeking power. This assumption is similar to Gee's (1991) discussion of "Discourses" and their related "literacies" as being linked to the acquisition of "social goods." Therefore, any ranking of genres according to privileging again appears similar to Gee's division between dominant and subordinate literacies as based on their relative ability to help provide access to social goods.

Determining 'dominant' or 'subordinate' literacies/genres is problematic because the value of genre depends on which social good (goal) the agent is trying to achieve. In addition, however, actual use of a particular genre to achieve a social good is often—though not always—accompanied by some form of official scrutiny of the texts themselves. At this level, when the texts are actually reviewed, then the mere title of belonging to a particular genre, for example, an article in an SSCI journal, will not necessarily guarantee the text's quality and thus "worth". True, the genre may offer some indication of the text's quality. I can assume that a work that has gone through a stringent review process is likely to be 'better' than a

piece that has been viewed and reviewed by only the author. But this may not necessarily be the case. Given the subjectivity of a characteristic like 'quality', and the subject under discussion, which is use of texts to gain social goods, I imagine that the ranking I suggest in Figure 8 is only relevant in predisposing a reviewer's attitude towards a particular text. In other words, a reader will have certain assumptions about a genre, and will approach the text inclined to like or dislike it according to these assumptions. I also expect, however, that this predisposing is most likely to occur in a negative manner. For example, a reviewer will probably look at a text belonging to a genre ranked as less privileged, with a predisposition that it is of lower quality. However, the reverse situation, that privileged genres will get 'easy' treatment, does not seem to occur. My observations tell me that reviewers are often predisposed to look at texts belonging to the more privileged genres with a particularly critical eye. As one very well known and respected Turkish IR scholar who frequently serves on Associate Professor juries once commented to me, "I look very carefully at articles from SSCI journals. Just because an article is in a SSCI journal doesn't mean it's any good. Except for some at the top, many SSCI journals are easy to get published in" (Sezer, 2003).

Clearly, it is not possible to outline all the varieties of genres available to Turkish IR scholars, nor is it possible to firmly say which ones are most privileged. Accordingly, it is not possible to take this discussion and present it to Turkish IR scholars as a recipe for acquiring social goods—"write these genres and get rich/famous/powerful." This discussion does provide, however, a starting point for considering the types of choices in mediational means that are being made by Turkish IR scholars. It is a first attempt to describe these means and to do so on the basis of their purposes within the discipline of IR.

Discourses: Theorists and the Policy Makers

Reflecting on the data also led me to make some observations on the various

discourses of the discipline of IR. I chose to draw on Ivanic's distinction between genres and

discourses, with discourses representing a broader conceptualization of languages shaped by

subject matter or ideologies, and genres representing more specific textual forms:

> Genres are shaped by institutionally defined purposes, roles, and the social
> relationships associated with them...discourses, by contrast, are shaped by subject
> matters and ideologies such as history, skiing, a feminist perspective, a
> commitment to disabled people's rights (1998: 46).

At the level of subject matter, the discourses of IR in Turkey have mirrored the shift in the

core from a long-standing triad of international law, diplomacy, and history, to a selection of

various subjects. Based on the data that emerged from this inquiry, these discourses are:

foreign policy, regional studies, peace and conflict resolution, security and war studies, and

theory. Basically, these correspond to a scholar's identified "expertise" ('*uzmanlik*' in

Turkish) in the field of IR. With a few exceptions, international law scholars have relocated to

departments of law, and history scholars to history departments. Diplomacy as a discourse has

been subsumed under the discourse of foreign policy.

Looking at each of these discourses individually, I find that foreign policy as a

discourse can be further categorized according to the various regions involved. The regions

towards which Turkish foreign policy is directed and studied can be defined as: the Middle

East, the European Union, the United States, and Russia/Central Asia/Caucasus. Greece and

the Balkans could be considered as separate categories of foreign policy (apart from Europe),

and thus separate areas of "expertise" or specialization among Turkish IR scholars. The

difference between the foreign policy discourse and the discourse of regional studies is that

the latter deals more with the areas themselves, and focuses on their history, development, and

political systems. The foreign policy specialists are particularly concerned with how Turkish

foreign policy towards these regions is constructed.

The next two discourses, peace and conflict resolution and security and war studies, are in many ways two sides of the same coin. As in the core, security and war studies in Turkey are the older and more established of the two discourses. A reactionary growth of a handful of institutes directed at peace and conflict resolution in the core has led to gradually increasing interest in the subject in Turkey as well. The first department of this type was established in 1999 at the newly founded private Sabanci University in Istanbul. As reflected in the cases of Ebru and Tolga, however, a discourse of peace and conflict resolution may not be able to take hold easily in Turkey. The Turkish state, public, and many Turkish IR scholars are still highly dominated by an image of their country as located in the world's 'worst neighborhood'. With unstable neighbors to the South (Syria, Iraq), East (Iran), and North (Georgia, Armenia, Russia), and an often hostile one to the immediate west (Greece), the discourse of security and war has long been seen as offering the most pertinent explanations of world affairs. Peace and conflict resolution, though a pleasant ideal, is still seen by many as only an ideal, and not practical for explaining and responding to the realities of instability and political conflict.

The final discourse, which I have labeled simply as 'theory', in fact is divided into two primary parts: political theory and IR theory. Political theory involves a discourse that stems from the field of philosophy, and deals with the works of scholars like John Rawls, and age-old questions of, for example, democracy and liberalism. For scholars who consider themselves "IR theorists", the political theorists do not actually belong in an IR department, but rather in a department of political science. The discourse of IR theory, on the other hand, refers to the specific theories and theoretical positions developed over the last 50 years, to particularly explain relations between nation states.

The most important finding of a discursive nature that I uncovered in this study was the broad ideological split between what I would call a discourse of policy and a discourse of

theory in Turkish IR. Reflecting the ideological side of Ivanic's definition of discourses, I can further divide the policy discourse into particular political positions, such as a hawkish policy perspective, or a liberal policy perspective. On the theory side of the split, I can also define ideological discourses of realist, liberal, critical (which includes Marxist or Feminist) and constructivist. I discuss the implications of this discursive split further in the section on the IR discipline.

Appropriation of and Restricted Access to Genres and Discourses

The reader may recall that on the questions of whether Turkish IR scholars were in some way subordinated to their western peers, I took an initial position in this dissertation of *not* taking a position. That is, I did not intend to set out expecting to find particular power imbalances or other inequities that might warrant taking a critical approach and trying to correct those imbalances. Upon completing the research for this study, I have to admit that I had a certain personal reaction to some findings, and that reaction suggests that it was unrealistic of me to presume I could enter the study without expectations. The findings that stimulated my reaction were related to the issues of appropriation of and access to mediational means. I was frankly surprised by the overall lack of complaints that were reported about a core dominance or a restricted access to certain genres in IR. With the obvious exception of Metin, no one expressed such feelings, even when I asked them directly. Ironically, they were fairly universal in agreeing that an American dominance of IR theory existed. However, the reaction to this dominance was usually less one of anger or frustration, than one of acceptance of a reality. Interestingly, the sense of acceptance of reality lacked an accompanying assumption that this reality could not be changed. The case of Metin, of course, is in stark contrast with this general assessment, since he points very obviously to his anger and frustration about the 'deafness' in the core IR community. He also gives clear examples from

his own experiences of not being allowed access to various means and, for example, being restricted to playing a supporting role to his core, western, co-author.

Why does Metin seem so different from the other participants in this study? In part I believe the difference comes from the nature of the genres he was using. As an example of a contrasting experience, Tolga also reports co-authoring an article in which he provided the "Turkish" information and the American co-author provided the introduction framework. Whereas Metin felt he had been forced to take a secondary position as a "Turkish expert," Tolga saw his part as the more valuable of the two. Tolga's understanding seems to have stemmed from the fact that the piece was a policy oriented article, and he was the one who had provided the real data and insider interpretation that would be of most interest to the audience. Metin's negative feelings may be based on the fact that his co-authored piece was an edited volume that was not explicitly policy-oriented. Rather, the volume set out to provide a deeper understanding of a complex issue. In such a work, one could argue that the most significant chapter was the opening chapter, in which the results of the subsequent empirical pieces were summarized and tied together within a theoretical framework. It is easy to understand how Metin's own contribution of what appears to be 'just another empirical chapter', would seem secondary, and produce feelings of frustration.

Metin's experience of not being given access to theoretical language even in oral discussions may again be related to the particular core audience he was addressing. Mehmet, for example, seeks acceptance into the core policy community. As a Turkish expert, he is both welcomed and respected for his particular regional knowledge. Metin's attempts, however, to interject examples or evidence from a regional case into a discussion of core theorists was certainly not respected, and not even welcomed. As Mehmet reminds us, core theorists and core policy researchers often struggle themselves both in their respective privileging of their own discourse, and in the conduct of their research. Therefore, empirical examples could very

well meet with awkward looks or pauses from a theory audience whether the 'messenger' was a Turk or an American. I am not denying that there is restricting of access for periphery scholars to various discourses. However, given that I did not hear repeated reports of such restrictions, I have to conclude that Metin's experiences may by understood not only from a core-periphery perspective but also in light of the overall theory-policy debate that marks the IR discipline communities both in Turkey and the West. I am also not suggesting here that Turks who face experiences like Metin's should therefore give up trying to participate in theoretical discourse or using theoretical genres. Rather, I believe a more productive and academically progressive route to improving core-periphery theoretical discussions might lie in what I would call a dialogical understanding of theoretical texts.

Theory in a Dialogical Sense

As I discussed in chapter two, Wertsch (1991) explains that a univocal understanding of language assumes that the codes of the speaker and listener—or in the case of textually based language, the writer and reader—coincide. A dialogic approach to language refutes the idea of word/text as simply a neutral conveyance of individuals' ideas to other people. Rather, a dialogic approach sees the word/text as evidence of individuals' particular choices of words and ideas and thus evidence of their interactions with various social contexts and languages.

An example of a univocal understanding of text revealed in this study can be found in the discussion on theorizing, and what constitutes a theoretical work. In his explanation of what can be considered a truly theoretical piece of research, Mehmet gives what I would consider a univocal definition relying on a core IR understanding of theorizing. He refers to the core theory community, to core journals, and to leading core theorists, in order to exemplify what is meant by "real theorizing". From that starting point, it is quite easy to then make the conclusion that no one in Turkey is doing "real theory".

In Tolga's discussion of theorizing, however, we can see an example of what may happen within a dialogic understanding of language. In this case, the understanding of what makes a 'theoretical text' is viewed through a lens that considers all texts as products of agents interacting with various contexts. With this perspective, it becomes impractical if not impossible for an IR scholar working out of Ankara, Turkey to produce a theoretical text that would look the same as a theoretical text produced by a scholar in Washington, DC. Although Mehmet's assessment that no one is doing "real theorizing" in Turkey may still hold true, Tolga's dialogical interpretation of "real" theoretical texts at least allows for the possibility that such a work could be produced.

Returning to the discussion of Metin's experiences from the previous section, I wonder whether such a 'dialogic approach to theorizing' might not be greeted differently by core theorists. It may seem unfair but not necessarily hard to understand that periphery scholars who try to participate in core theory discourse by applying a univocal, core understanding of theory, i.e. trying to explore core theoretical questions, may not easily be granted access. In such a discourse, examples from a particular case may appear more like attempts to 'trip up' core theorists, or to produce 'theory spoilers' out of the Turkish experience. It is possible, however, that a Turkish IR scholar might have more success gaining access to the core theory debate by contributing not as an 'outsider theorist' grappling with the same questions, but rather as a 'newcomer theorist' with a different set of questions, stemming from different contextual conditions. I imagine such efforts would, in the short run, produce a hierarchy of 'theorizing', with theories of big powers ranking over theories of small powers. Nevertheless such an approach would seem to provide a starting point to some kind of core-periphery dialogue on theory, and might help reduce the kind of negative experiences such as those of Metin.

A further note on the topic of univocal vs. dialogical texts is the need to point out an error on my part concerning my assumptions about who would constitute the ideal listener or reader for the Turkish IR scholar. When I introduced this topic in chapter 2, I assumed that the desired listener for Turkish IR scholars would be the core IR discipline, in particular, the core American audience. I thus reflected that a univocal understanding might be behind the core's assessment of texts by Turkish IR scholars, and ultimately, behind the very limited representation of Turks in core IR literature. The results of the study made very clear to me however, that the core American audience is but one of many "desired listeners" that Turkish IR scholars may choose to address. To borrow Anderson's (1983) illusion, Turkish IR scholars do not all necessarily imagine themselves as belonging first and foremost to the core IR community. Contrary to my earlier image that all Turkish IR scholars (at least those trained abroad) would naturally strive first to address the core audience and only address local audiences when they were unable to address the core, the reality proved quite different. Turkish IR scholars have a wide range of possible audiences, from Europeans to Turks, from academics to politicians, from businesspeople to friends and family. This finding supports Thesen's (1997) cautionary reminder against deterministic assumptions that all learners are trying to become part of the "mainstream culture" (488). Moreover, the results showed that Turkish IR scholars have a wide variety of goals and thus rationales for choosing to address different audiences. Scholars' decisions to address particular audiences is based, therefore, on desire, not only on restrictions. Once again, I realized it had been unwise of me to make assumptions—in this case, assuming a hierarchy of listeners/audience, and placing the core at the top.

To return yet again to the experience of Metin and to my suggestion of adopting a dialogical understanding, I would also suggest that making additional efforts to seek out different audiences could be a fruitful approach for periphery scholars. I can imagine core

theorists taking increasing notice of, for example, Turkish, Indian and Chinese IR scholars cooperating in the designing of a 'periphery world' theory to explain phenomena related to the overlooked developing world. Turkish IR scholars who are interested in theory might be recommended, therefore, to look at times towards the theorizing attempts in the rest of the periphery, and not simply to that within the core. I find it a pity that, for example, the library at Bilkent University, the largest and richest university library in Turkey, does not subscribe to such journals as *International Studies* published by Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi, or *International Affairs* out of Moscow. Also, theory-oriented conferences in Turkey might consider turning east, north or southward when looking for guest panelists to invite. Until such contacts are made, and ideas begin to be shared, I am sure that Turkish IR scholars will continue to perceive the west as the only worthwhile source of theorizing.

Reflections for International Relations

The data in this inquiry lead me to various reflections relevant to the discipline of IR. At the local level, it is the first study of any kind addressing basic questions of what may be going on in Turkish IR. That is, it provides a initial description of the types of questions being addressed (the various disciplinary discourses), and the types of works being used to answer those questions (genres). It even provides a rough picture of how the discipline has developed over the past two decades. The most interesting finding of this historical overview of disciplinary development was the uncovering of a split between discourses of policy and theory, and the connections of these discourses to scholars of different socio-cultural backgrounds. I showed how IR scholars from elite backgrounds had traditionally dominated a policy-oriented IR discourse. I then showed how a shifting in the demographics of IR students towards individuals from lower socio-economic backgrounds combined with a dramatic rise

in the numbers of government funded study-abroad scholarships, ultimately led to a privileging of theoretical IR discourse.

At the general disciplinary level, I would hope that this study would contribute first by sparking dialogue between IR scholars within Turkey and with those beyond this country's borders. As a first step to such dialogue, my study participants have reported to me that being a part of this inquiry has led them to a higher degree of self-awareness about the choices they make and the implications of those choices, for example:

> Talking about these things has made me think about them more. It's in part because we talked about the department with you that I began thinking about ways to make myself better, I mean stronger, if I want to change my position here. So I'm thinking about writing more in Turkish. (Nihat, conversation, May 2003).

> It's definitely been interesting for me to see the changes that take place in how I read and write since I came back from the States. I don't think I would have been aware of these things if I weren't meeting and talking explicitly about them with you sometimes (Tolga, conversation, June 2003).

One scholar who was not a participant but who spoke with me on several occasions about my research, has expressed an interest in writing a sociology of Turkish IR. Tolga has spoken with her about working together on the project. These strike me as positive steps towards both a greater degree of reflection about Turkish IR in general and, ultimately, about the role of Turkish IR in the larger IR disciplinary community.

I drew attention to the fact that IR is well-noted for its 'core' or North American dominance, particularly in the area of theoretical research. While this judgement was strongly supported in the data, I also discovered that the situation is more complex than a black and white picture of core dominance and periphery suppression. First, there are complex local questions of dominance/suppression that play a more immediate role in these scholars' lives. Far more scholars raised concerns about inequalities they sense or have experienced when being judged by their local IR peers, than when being judged by core IR colleagues. Second, there is ample evidence of successful periphery participation in many parts of the core. In

certain genres in particular, such as the policy report or regional study, Turkish IR scholars

hold a kind of 'expert' superiority over North American colleagues. Finally, as I discussed at

length above, one can argue that, even if the core fully allowed access, periphery participation

in the theoretical discussions of the core should not be exactly 'equal' because periphery

scholars can not and should not ignore their local contexts

These points about periphery scholars' relationships with the core recall elements of

Taylor's Politics of Recognition (1992). In that work, Taylor struggles with the inherent

contradiction between two fundamental views of human nature, the first of which stresses

abstract equality for all human beings, and the second of which emphasizes the uniqueness of

every personality:

> With the politics of equal dignity, what is established is meant to be universally the
> same, an identical basket of rights and immunities; with the politics of difference,
> what we are asked to recognize is the unique identity of this individual or group,
> their distinctness from everything else. The idea is that it is precisely this
> distinctness that has been ignored, glossed over, assimilated to a dominant or
> majority identity. And this assimilation is the cardinal sin against the ideal of
> authenticity (Taylor, 1992: 54).

I see some Turkish scholars, like Metin, struggling with these same torn ideals. As periphery

scholars they desire equality with their core colleagues. However, at the same time they resist

the idea of being assimilated into that dominant community. Assimilation when it comes to IR

theorizing means losing the chance to ever discover what a unique Turkish version of IR

theorizing might have been like. Seeking recognition for their uniqueness as Turks or simply

as non-western scholars runs the risk of having the core forever view them as outsiders with

lower status.

Implications for IR Teaching

So what should IR professors do? And how should they use the dialogic forum of the

classroom to perhaps raise awareness of complex issues such as the equality/assimilation

dilemma? The following points are primarily focused towards people like the participants in this study, who were once students abroad, and who are now practicing academicians in their home countries. These points are also directed at faculty members in the core who are in close contact with students from the periphery. I believe, however, that the basic points are perhaps equally important for native English speaking IR students as for non-native speaking ones, as well as for students intending to practice in the core and those in the periphery. At the broadest level, professors and advisors should aim for greater transparency when exposing students to the discipline, and encourage further dialogue on issues such as: the roles of theory and policy in IR. In particular, a positive way of sparking such a dialogue could arise from appealing to an area of the discipline that has been particularly notorious for shutting off dialogue: theory.

Based on the reportings of this study's participants, I strongly recommend that theory instruction in both the core and periphery make greater efforts to help students understand the purpose of theorizing. This means removing the mystique from theory, or what Ebru referred to as people "making theory unintelligible". Theory should not remain an opaque domain limited in access to an elite few, and limited in relevance to those theorists discussing the topic. Rather, theory should be presented as a tool (or as Tolga refers to it, "a lens") for looking at a subject in a wider perspective. Theory is a means for uncovering patterns that will help others understand other cases of the phenomena under investigation, in this case, relations between countries.

The benefits of such an approach would be first to decrease the possibility of occurrences like that reported by Metin, in which core theorists are confronted by cases that do not match their theorizing, and therefore chose to ignore them. A second benefit would be a growing understanding of how theory construction is by default based on local contextual influences. Such an understanding means leaning towards the 'uniqueness' side of Taylor's

opposing forces of equality and uniqueness. The fact that mainstream IR theories have traditionally all focused on relations between super power countries does not mean that there can not be theories of relations between small power countries, it merely reflects that the individuals doing the theorizing were themselves embedded geographically and ideologically in the context of super-power nations like the United States. Traditionally, IR theory instruction has simply presented the core-produced theories, and periphery and core students alike have thus been led to view theory as something done in the core and imported to the periphery. However, an understanding of the local influences on theory construction would likely encourage greater efforts for theory production by periphery scholars. If a hierarchy of 'theorizing' should emerge, in which theories of big powers takes precedence over theories of small ones, it would be evidence of some loss of equality (which never really existed anyway) and a boost for uniqueness (which may be the only route to a kind of equality). I think the loss would be worthwhile. For periphery scholars, theory construction could take on understandings both of something with practical implications, and of something that they could themselves do. Ultimately, such a process of changing how theory is presented and of helping non-core scholars see that they too have a role to play in theory construction, could prove a tremendous encouragement for increased dialogue among IR scholars. Most importantly, this increased dialogue would be taking place in the area of the discipline that is currently most restricted in participation to select groups of scholars.

Should IR departments teach a balance of history, regional studies, political theory and IR or is it better to specialize in just those topics that fall directly under the heading of IR? Ultimately, I would have to agree with the study participant Mehmet, who chose to construct a program that would offer a combination of area studies, IR, and history under one umbrella. The complaints of faculty on his staff have some legitimacy when they argue that the students end up poorly educated in everything and experts in nothing, but the accusation is not a

terribly convincing one for the majority undergraduate students going through the program. At the undergraduate level, having a broad picture of the discipline could be considered a definite advantage. At the graduate level, the responsibility for more focused reading and specialization will anyway fall particularly on the individual students and their advisors.

By contrast, the occasional criticisms raised by participants in this study of the way that IR is taught in North America strike me as far more convincing and damaging. In particular, the idea that some students in North America may be receiving training in pure IR theory without a clear linking to area studies (contextual issues and realities), is a serious one that the core should address. I am not taking the policy-makers' side of the argument and saying that pure theorizing is useless, but I do find that in a field like IR, theory produced by experts who have no focused training in regional studies, is likely to have problems. In general, in choosing a side in this debate I come back to my overall position that for novices in the IR community, exposure to more is better. Thus I support a broader curriculum for IR students.

Moving on to the professional world of academic publishing, further efforts could be made to increase the percentage of periphery articles being published in core journals. Scholarly journals that are not already taking appropriate measures could make efforts to recruit prominent academics from the periphery for their editorial boards. These scholars could then be encouraged to monitor regional journals for promising scholars who could then be solicited for manuscripts. International meetings could also be used as sites for locating scholars from whom to solicit works. Core journals might also consider accepting article submissions in languages other than English and either providing translation services before sending them on to the reviewers, or seeking reviewers who are proficient in the language.

Implications for EAP Teaching

Not a single person in this study criticized the overwhelming use of English in IR. I found this quite interesting since, although the study participants had all studied or practiced the discipline in English, they had not had trouble-free periods of acquiring English academic discourse. Nonetheless, none of them complained about having to use English, and most of them expressed praise for the writing, argumentation style, methodological clarity, and theoretical strength of scholarship from the core. On the other hand, I have heard Turkish scholars who have never studied abroad criticize the overall dominance of English in academic scholarship and express regret at the weakening of Turkish-language scholarship.

So what does this mean for the debate on how we should teach academic English? I can imagine two possible interpretations: 1) western educated international students all get assimilated into core discourse and thus we should teach in a way to promote alternative discourses, or 2) international students should be taught the dominant discourses earlier and faster so that they will be able to question and challenge them—if they wish. If I consider the goals of the participants in this study, I see that they mostly want to know the dominant discourse. Even unhappy Metin wants to be allowed to participate; he is not trying to change or challenge the genre. The most 'challenging' idea to emerge from one of the study participants is Tolga's suggestion for changing theoretical discourse concepts in the periphery. This idea stemmed from a scholar whom I consider, and who considers himself, very much assimilated in terms of his training. He points out, for example, that when he went to the United States, he "was taught to read, write and think in a completely American manner" (Tolga, interview, November 18, 2000). Moreover, Tolga is a scholar who openly admires North American writers and thinkers. Nevertheless, Tolga proposes an alternative discourse, which merges scholars' local roots with their international education. His proposal

seems to represent a positive model of Canagarajah's (2002) call for multilingual writers to adopt critically challenging stances towards academic discourse.

This example of Tolga's case seems to suggest that the best approach for teaching advanced academic English instruction (in particular to international students) is to expose them to and provide them with the tools to produce dominant discourses, while simultaneously encouraging them to stimulate dialogue within their respective disciplines about these issues. To draw yet again on Taylor's distinction between rights to equality and rights to uniqueness, such an approach seems to reflect a pedagogical inclination towards the side of equality. Teach the dominant discourse so that the oppressed can participate on equal footing with the dominators. On the surface such a recommendation seems in conflict with my previous recommendation for Turkish scholars to emphasize uniqueness. I find the two recommendations not to be in conflict because they are meant for different contexts. For newcomers into academic studies in a second language, teaching and learning the dominant discourse makes sense because it is a necessary tool for achieving a sense of equality. For practicing Turkish scholars of IR, attempting to create a new discourse based on a principle of uniqueness is both a reasonable and valuable venture. When both steps are taken together, the results should be positive for Turkish IR scholars and for the larger disciplinary community of international relations alike.

Suggestions for Future Research

There is a clear need for additional studies like this one in order to allow comparative analyses on some of the findings presented here. I believe it would be particularly useful to have more socially-based studies of academic literacy practices carried out either in other local (national) IR settings or in other Turkish disciplinary contexts. Such studies could

contribute to a clearer understanding of which literacy patterns are common across national or disciplinary boundaries, and which differ.

In this inquiry, I felt that one of my challenges was to map out the territory of a relatively untouched area. In looking at Turkish scholars' literacy practices I wanted to look not at the individual level of one text and its author, nor at the contexts of reading and writing in just one class or institution, nor even at describing the culture of the overall discipline. Rather I sought to blend these layers of analysis to explore how individual scholars were mediating various contexts through the choice of genres. Such an effort meant that I could not go into extensive detail on any single layer of analysis, but it revealed a lifetime's worth of pathways for future exploration. For example, a future study might look at the rhetorical conventions of the book review in international relations, or conduct a case study of one Turkish scholar's writing of a research article from conception of the topic to publication. Alternatively, a future discourse study could look at the interactions of native and non-native English speakers during theory-based presentations at an annual conference of the International Studies Association. A curriculum study could consider the designing of a content-based writing class for Turkish students of international relations.

Other important follow-up studies would include works incorporating a greater degree of linguistic level analysis of the scholars' writings, and seeing to what extent and how such analysis might bear out the findings of the current inquiry. For example, are there linguistic reflections of the pattern I saw between certain genre use and the aspect of writer identity being satisfied? Can a linguistic analysis help clarify further the shifting nature of what constitutes the genre of the "theoretical article" in IR?

Finally, for the Turkish scholar of IR, the Turkish student of IR, and the Turkish youth considering a career in IR, I hope this inquiry will encourage future studies of a reflexive nature. I hope they will embark upon self-reflective inquiries into their own literacy practices.

As a result of such self-inquiry, I hope that they will go on to explore and question the accepted norms and conventions of the local and international IR disciplinary communities.

Concluding Reflections

For several years I have been following up on the literacy practices of this study's participants, watching and collaborating with my husband in his literacy practices as a graduate student and an emergent scholar, guiding my students in their first graduate level academic literacy experiences in English, and working through my own literacy practices as a doctoral candidate and an instructor in a TEFL program. I know that seeking deeper understandings of academic literacies will remain a central part of my professional life and that I will continue to explore the relationships between scholars and the various contexts they mediate in their literacy practices.

A particular goal of mine now is to expand my own academic literacy practices to include more work in languages other than English. One of the first things I intend to do, therefore, is to produce a summarized version of this study's findings in Turkish. I can not write a thesis like this without immediately questioning my own motivations behind my desire to write in Turkish. I admit that to a large extent my goals are in the nature of self-interest. As a scholar living in Turkey, having a publication in Turkey is important for academic promotion here. I also feel that foreign language publications will be valued in North America, as something that many scholars are unable to do—particularly in an 'unusual' language like Turkish. But I also see such a publication as important for encouraging dialogue among academics in Turkey about such questions as what languages they write and read in, what topics they write and read about, and where they publish their works. If I present these findings in a Turkish language publication I will reach a much broader audience. Publishing in one of Turkey's English-language journals would mean a

smaller audience not only because some potential readers may not understand English, but also because Turkish-language journals have a wider distribution across the country. I have come to believe that everyone participating in advanced academic literacy practices can benefit from conscious reflection on the choices they make in their literacy practices and the implications of those choices. An article in Turkish about this study's findings will reach different audiences and thus remind more people of the value of such self-reflection.

Along with my conviction that all students and scholars can benefit from self-reflection, I have come to realize that my long-time interest in the discipline of IR has distanced me from looking at the second language literacy practices of fellow members in the field of second language education. As the 'research methods' instructor in the TEFL program at Bilkent University, I am supposed to prepare the students to write their MA theses. I am thus in an ideal position to observe these students' second language literacy practices as well as to guide them in making their choices about how and what to read and write. I look forward in my teaching to discussing with my students their evolving ideas on the discourses and genres of our discipline. I hope that these discussions will encourage them—and me—to continue carrying out our academic literacy practices in conscious and critical manners.

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Appendix A

Social Sciences Citation Index - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS JOURNAL LIST
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36. MILLENNIUM-JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
37. OCEAN DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL LAW
38. POST-SOVIET AFFAIRS
39. REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
40. SECURITY DIALOGUE
41. SECURITY STUDIES
42. SPACE POLICY
43. STANFORD JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW
44. STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
45. SURVIVAL
46. TERRORISM AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE
47. WASHINGTON QUARTERLY
48. WELTWIRTSCHAFTLICHES ARCHIV-REVIEW OF WORLD ECONOMICS
49. WORLD ECONOMY
50. WORLD POLICY JOURNAL
51. WORLD POLITICS
52. WORLD TODAY

Appendix B

Turkish State Universities with Departments of International Relations

1. Abant Izzet Baysal*
2. Adnan Menderes*
3. Afyon Kocatepe*
4. Akdeniz*
5. Anadolu*
6. Balikesir*
7. Boagazici (Bosphorous)
8. Canakkale Onsekiz Mart
9. Cukurova*
10. Dokuz Eylul
11. Ege
12. Erciyes*
13. Firat
14. Galatasaray
15. Gazi
16. Hacettepe
17. Harran*
18. Karadeniz Teknik
19. Kirikkale
20. Kocaeli
21. Marmara
22. Mugla*
23. Orta Dogu Teknik (Middle East Technical)
24. Pamukkale*
25. Sakaraya
26. Selcuk
27. Suleyman Demirel*
28. Trakya*
29. Uludag
30. Yuzuncu Yil

Turkish Private Universities with Departments of International Relations
31. Atilim
32. Beykent
33. Bilkent
34. Cag
35. Dogus
36. Fatih
37. Istanbul Bilgi
38. Istanbul Kultur*
39. Kadir Has
40. Koc
41. Sabanci

* an asterisk indicates that the department has not yet officially opened, but is planned

Appendix C

Rankings of the top 20 International Relations departments in Turkey according to required university exam scores

1. Bilkent University* (198.356)
2. Bosphorous (198.017)
3. Koc* (197.487)
4. Galatasaray (196.438)
5. Middle East Technical (195.982)
6. Hacettepe (190.575)
7. Ankara (189.363)
8. Marmara (188.770)
9. Bilgi* (188.233)
10. Dokuz Eylul (187.265)
11. Ege (183.968)
12. Baskent* (182.118)
13. Gazi (178.656)
14. Atilim* (176.241)
15. Istanbul Kultur* (175.876)
16. Dogus* (173.206)
17. Karadeniz Teknik (168.703)
18. Canakkale (168.093)
19. Cag* (166.978)
20. Kirikkale (166.791)
21. Koc** (165.268)
22. Baskent** (152.173)
23. Bilkent** (151.419)

*These are private universities. This score is required for entrance with a full scholarship.
** These are the required scores for the same private universities with paid tuition.

Appendix D

Table of contents for the international journal founded by Metin

Unal Gundogan   Islamist Iran and Turkey, 1979-1989: State Pragmatism and ideological influences

Hansjoerg Biener   The arrival of Radio Farda: International broadcasting to Iran at a crossroads

James A. Russell   Searching for a post Saddam regional security architecture

Robert G. Rabil   The making of Saddam's executioners: A manual of oppression by procedures

Aziz Enhaili and Oumelkheir Adda   State and islamism in the Mahgreb

Cameron S. Brown   Israel's 2003 elections

Roundtable discussion: Democratization in the Middle East, solution or mirage?